

WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA

The Federal
Prosecution of the
Socialist Workers

Party and

Local 544—C.I.O.

by

GEORGE E. NOVACK

foreword by

JAMES T. FARRELL

Author of "Stude Lonigan", etc.

- Is it reasonable to oppose the war?
- Has the Bill of Rights been abolished?
- What was the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard?
- How does the Administration fight the C. I. O.?
- How does the Justice Department serve Daniel J. Hoan?
- Have workers the right to choose their own union?

5 cents

THE C. I. O. RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 160 PINE AVE., N. C.

THE 28 DEFENDANTS IN THE MINNESOTA CASE

JAMES P. CANNON (New York) *National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party.*
 GRACE CARLSON (St. Paul) *Minnesota State Organizer, SWP*
 JAY COOPER (Minneapolis) *Minneapolis truck driver.*
 OSCAR COOVER (Minneapolis) *Minneapolis Secretary, SWP*
 HARRY DeBOER (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 FARRELL DOBBS (Minneapolis) *National Labor Secretary, SWP*
 MILES B. DUNNE (Minneapolis) *President, Local 544-CIO*
 V. R. DUNNE (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 GEORGE FROSIG (Minneapolis) *Vice-President, Local 544-CIO*
 MAX GELDMAN (Minneapolis) *1939 WPA strike participant*
 ALBERT GOLDMAN (Chicago) *Attorney for the SWP*
 WALTER HAGSTROM (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 CLARENCE HAMEL (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 EMIL HANSON (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 CARLOS HUDSON (Minneapolis) *Editor, Industrial Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 CARL KUEHN (Minneapolis) *Secretary, Federal Workers Section (WPA workers), Local 544-CIO*
 FELIX MORROW (New York) *Editor, The Militant*
 ROY ORGON (Minneapolis) *Minneapolis truck driver*
 EDWARD PALMQUIST (Minneapolis) *Chairman, Federal Workers Section, Local 544-CIO*
 KELLY POSTAL (Minneapolis) *Secretary-Treasurer, Local 544-CIO*
 RAY RAINOLDT (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*
 ALFRED RUSSELL (Minneapolis) *Former Organizer, Teamsters Local 554, Omaha, Nebraska*
 OSCAR SCHOENFELD (New York) *1939 WPA strike participant*
 DOROTHY SCHULTZ (St. Paul) *Twin City Secretary, Workers Defense League*
 ROSE SEILER (Minneapolis) *Business Agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union (AFL)*
 CARL SKOGLUND (Minneapolis) *Organizer and former President, Local 544-CIO*
 HAROLD SWANSON (Minneapolis) *Active in Minneapolis labor movement*
 NICK WAGNER (Minneapolis) *Organizer, Local 544-CIO*

GRANT DUNNE

Organizer and Leader, Local 544 CIO

1893-1944

WHY THIS CASE IS SO IMPORTANT

By JAMES T. FARRELL

Noted novelist, author of "Studs Lonigan", etc.

I once heard free speech cynically described as a right which the citizen possesses as long as he doesn't exercise it. Do we want this statement to be more than mere cynicism? Do we want it to be a description of the status of free speech, of civil liberties, in the United States—in the year 1941? These questions, in essence, point to the vital issue involved in the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case.

This case is the most important involving civil liberties since the trials of the I.W.W. members during the First World War. And it is similar to the I.W.W. cases in its fundamental point. Both constituted attacks on the labor movement. It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor. In Italy, when Benito Mussolini rose to power, he undertook an immediate attack on all working-class organizations and he crushed them; in Germany, this was also the first step of Adolf Hitler after he became Chancellor. The major step in the restriction, the abridgment and the abolition of civil liberties is always the same—it is an attack on the political and economic rights of labor. This is why the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case is of such crucial importance.

In the United States today there are relatively few human beings who will openly declare that they desire to see the abolition of civil liberties. But the statements of men must be tested in practice. Because people declare that they want civil liberties guaranteed, that does not mean that these liberties will be guaranteed. They must be defended day by day against every encroachment. Those tendencies which threaten the civil liberties of the American people must be opposed, no matter what their origin. No danger, no emergency is so menacing that it can justify us in abandoning our rights. Once these are abandoned, we are slaves, no matter what language be used to describe our slavery.

Since the First World War democratic rights have declined and been lost in one nation after another. The curve has been downward. Today there are few places on this globe where a man is permitted honestly and openly to express his ideas and to defend his convictions. The American people do not want this to happen in the United States. The way to prevent this is to implement and strengthen our civil rights. And we can and must

do this by defending them. Freedom of speech is meaningless if it is freedom to agree with those who are in power. No real social advance is ever attained in that manner.

The ensuing pages document the reasons why the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case is a major civil liberties issue. Unless this attack on our basic rights is checked, it will establish a precedent for subsequent ones. This is precisely the manner in which liberty dies. Inch by inch it is eaten away. One precedent after another is established. Repressive and reactionary tendencies are built up until they can, in time, resemble a tidal wave. When that has happened—it is too late.

Today, in the United States, it is not too late. We can still preserve our civil rights. It is our highest duty to remain free in a world of the most brutal oppression and tyranny. And we remain free men by defending the liberty of others, as well as of ourselves, whether or not we agree with them.

WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA

by GEORGE E. NOVACK

On July 15, 1941 twenty-nine people were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul, Minnesota, on charges of "seditious conspiracy." The indictment had been drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice.

Among these indicted were the national and local leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the officers of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO.

This prosecution is the most sweeping government attack upon the democratic rights of labor in many years. For its parallel, one would have to go back to the mass trials of the I.W.W. during the last World War.

The Minnesota "seditious conspiracy" case has become an issue of national importance. Hundreds of publications throughout the country have featured and commented upon the Federal indictments. News of the arrests was flashed around the world. The case has aroused vast sections of the American trade union movement.

Forces are lining up on both sides. The Roosevelt administration's action has been backed up by the conservative press, Democratic and Republican leaders, certain reactionary AFL officials and the Communist Party. The prosecution has been vigorously denounced as a serious threat to civil liberties and organized labor by the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Work-

ers, the American Civil Liberties Union, *The Nation*, *The New Republic* and other outstanding labor organizations and liberal spokesmen.

What is the true story behind this unprecedented Federal prosecution? Why were the officers and members of Local 544-CIO indicted at this particular time? Who prompted the prosecution? What are the real views and activities of the Socialist Workers Party? Is there any basis to the charge that the defendants were "conspiring" to overthrow the U.S. Government by force and violence? What is the significance of this case for civil liberties and labor's rights?

These are the questions we propose to answer in this pamphlet.

TEAMSTERS LOCAL 544 MAKES MINNEAPOLIS A UNION TOWN

The "seditious conspiracy" prosecution has arisen directly out of the influence of the Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers Party, in the trade union movement in Minneapolis. The storm center of the struggle is Teamsters Local 544, in which members or sympathizers with the policies of the Socialist Workers Party have played a leading role. Local 544 has been the spearhead and stronghold of the most militant and progressive sections of the labor movement in Minneapolis and the Northwest, ever since it consolidated itself as a powerful union organization by winning a series of strenuously fought strikes in 1934. These strikes made the Minneapolis Teamsters Union and its leadership nationally famous.

The leaders of 544 became known throughout the Northwest as hard-hitting fighters, uncompromising trade unionists, and tough opponents. Under their inspiration and guidance Minneapolis, in a few years, became transformed from the leading open-shop city in the U. S. to one of the most strongly organized union centers.

In the process of building their own union and extending trade unionism, the leaders of Local 544 had to engage in an uninterrupted series of battles and controversies with employers and their agents, city officials, police, National Guardsmen, strike-breakers, Silver Shirts, etc. This is not the first time members of 544 have been charged with "conspiracy" by the Department of Justice. During the 1939 WPA strikes 162 workers, led by 544's Federal Workers Section, were arrested en masse and held for "conspiracy." After 32 strike leaders had been convicted, nation-wide labor protest forced the government to release the other 130 defendants.

544'S FIRST FIGHTS WITH DANIEL TOBIN

In the course of their struggles the 544 leaders made many bitter enemies inside as well as outside the labor movement. Not

least amongst these was the President of their own International organization, Daniel J. Tobin. Tobin opposed the militant policies which had enabled the Teamster leaders of Minneapolis to establish their union and defend it against all kinds of attacks. During the 1934 strikes, he publicly denounced the leaders of the union as "Reds" and branded their strike action as "illegal".

In 1935, Tobin expelled the Local from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and tried to set up a rival local. A year later, however, although he had declared its leaders would never again be permitted to head a union in his International, Tobin had to readmit the local. The CIO was growing and was about to break away from the AFL. Tobin took back the local as a lesser evil. 544's leaders were also advised by CIO officials they consulted at that time to return to the AFL.

During the next five years, Local 544 was instrumental in North-Central area into the most powerful labor force in the building the teamsters movement in Minneapolis and the entire Northwest. The 11-state North-Central Area Committee, inspired and directed by 544's leadership, brought over 200,000 over-the-road drivers into the Teamsters International under a closed-shop area-wide contract signed in the fall of 1937. Although he knew that Farrell Dobbs belonged to the Socialist Workers Party, Tobin had to appoint Dobbs, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544, as International Organizer in charge of this area. When Dobbs, one of the 29 now under indictment, resigned as International Organizer in January 1940 to become Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, he informed Tobin of his decision. Tobin assured Dobbs that he could always return as an International Organizer. At that juncture Tobin was more interested in the dues-paying members Local 544's leadership could bring into his International than he was in hounding the Trotskyists for their anti-war stand.

At the last Teamsters' International Convention in September 1940—I.B.T. conventions are held only once every five years—the 544 delegates led the fight against two important measures sponsored by Tobin. They defeated a proposal that Tobin be given powers to enforce arbitration upon affiliated locals in any dispute with the employers. They fought against raising Tobin's annual salary from \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year, but Tobin won that point. The convention battles ended in an uneasy truce between Tobin and Local 544.

In the Spring of 1941, immediately after the Local 544 elections, a "Committee of 99", composed of a small group of disgruntled union members, but backed by Tobin from the start, filed charges against the elected officers of Local 544 with the

Executive Board of the I.B.T. They accused 544's leaders of being "Communists" and "radicals" and therefore unworthy to head the union. The charges were the same as those made three years before by five discredited members of the union, who, abetted by the open-shop employers' organization, the Associated Industries, had instituted a legal action against 544. Local 544 had successfully fought and defeated this suit in the courts. After the most thorough examination of the books, records and activities of the union, District Judge Carroll ruled that the union's leadership had carried on the affairs of the union in a legal, efficient and honest manner.

The earlier accusers in the so-called "Fink Suit" had called upon the Court to remove 544's leadership and appoint a receiver for the union. Now the "Committee of 99" appealed to Tobin to take this same step. On the basis of their charges, Tobin ordered a Committee of 544 leaders to attend a hearing held before International officers on April 8, 1941 in Chicago. At that hearing, the 544 delegation presented its refutation of the charges leveled against them.

TOBIN MOVES AGAINST 544

Fortune Magazine for May, 1941 appeared with an article on the International Brotherhood of Teamsters which emphasized the racketeering prevalent in Tobin's International and taunted him about the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544 in Minneapolis. Tobin, sensitive to the criticism of Big Business, answered that he was going to rid his organization of such elements. But he acted, not against the racketeers, but solely against the "Reds."

In the May, 1941 issue of his *Teamsters Journal*, Tobin published an editorial stating that some Minnesota teamsters were "known advocates of the Socialist Workers Party" and threatened that anyone who would not resign from the party would be removed from the ranks of the I. B. T. Other editorials in the *Teamsters Journal* warned all members who did not loyally support President Roosevelt's policies, particularly his policy toward the war, that they had no place in the Teamsters International and would be liable to disciplinary action by Tobin. The official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters, the *Northwest Organizer*, had persistently opposed Roosevelt's labor and war policies.

Upon the appearance of 544's delegation at the meeting of the International Executive Board at Washington the first week in June, Tobin asked that they agree to his appointment of a dictator-receiver over the union, with absolute powers,

including the power to expel anyone. Local 544 rejected this proposal that same week.

For a month before, negotiations between 544 and the Minneapolis employers for the renewal of the union contracts which expired on June 1st, had produced no results. It was stated in the Minneapolis press that the employers were awaiting the outcome of the June meeting with Tobin, when they confidently expected that the leadership of 544 would be ousted and replaced by Tobin appointees.

544 GOES CIO

At a regular membership meeting held on June 9th, 544's delegation to Washington and its officers presented these facts in reports to the nearly 4,000 members present of the more than 5,000 in the union. By a well-nigh unanimous vote, the members decided to disaffiliate from the I.B.T. and to apply for a charter from the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO. After thoroughly investigating the union and the record of its leadership, this charter was granted by A. D. Lewis, President of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, who announced that it was the first step in a "streamlined CIO organizing campaign among the Motor Transport and Allied Workers of the entire midwest area to bring them into a modern, progressive industrial union." The Minneapolis Ice Drivers Local 21, the Austin (Minn.) Drivers Union, the Ottumwa (Iowa) Teamsters Local voted to follow 544's example in leaving the AFL for the CIO. Teamsters' locals elsewhere were considering similar action. This was demonstrated a short time later in Michigan when 5,000 teamsters in Detroit and AFL Drivers in Flint, Pontiac, Lansing, Monroe and other cities went over to the CIO.

TOBIN ASKS ROOSEVELT FOR HELP AGAINST 544-CIO

Four days after Local 544 voted to join the CIO, as the movement it initiated was gaining momentum and extensive support, Tobin telegraphed President Roosevelt, appealing to the Government to take action in this matter. Tobin's statement said in part: "The withdrawal from the International Union by the truckdrivers union, Local 544 and one other small union in Minneapolis, and their affiliation with the CIO is indeed a regrettable and dangerous condition. The officers of this local union... were requested to disassociate themselves from the radical Trotsky organization... we feel that while our country is in a dangerous position, those disturbers

who believe in the policies of foreign, radical governments, must be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course..." (N.Y. Times, June 14, 1941).

Upon receipt of this message from Tobin, the President's secretary, Stephen Early, issued the following statement to the White House press conference: "Mr. Tobin telegraphed from Indianapolis that it is apparent to him and to the other executives of his organization that because they have been and will continue to stand squarely behind the government, all subversive organizations and all enemies of our government, including Bundists, Trotskyists and Stalinists are opposed to them and seeking to destroy loyal trade unions which are supporting democracy."

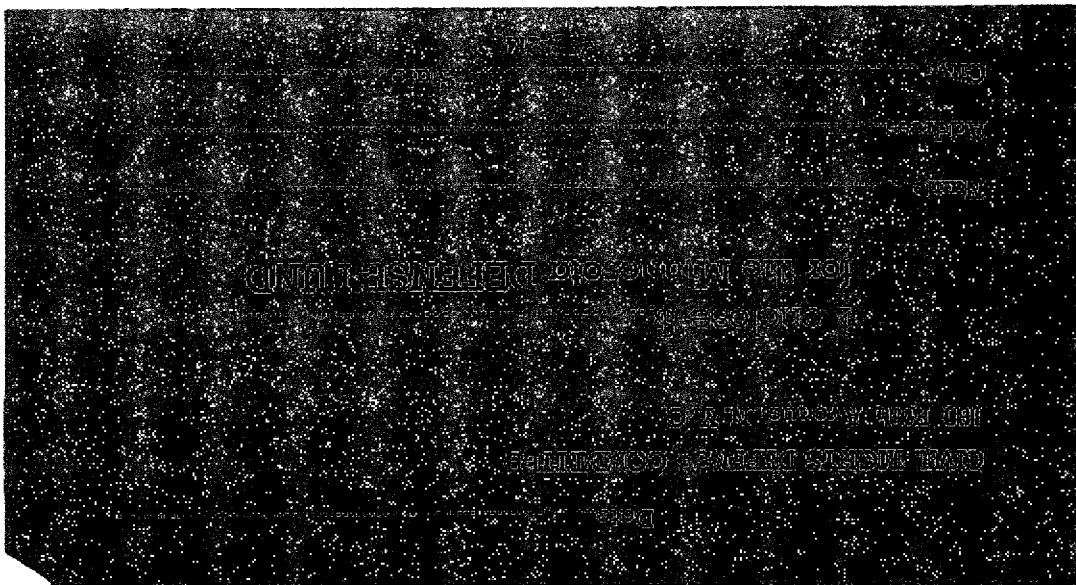
"Mr. Tobin goes into considerable detail and states that he is going to issue a statement from the Indianapolis office of the teamsters union. When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning, he asked me to immediately have the Government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified, and to point out that this is no time, in his opinion, for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another for the purpose of getting memberships or for similar reason." (N.Y. Times, June 14, 1941).

ROOSEVELT SENDS THE F.B.I. TO MINNESOTA

Within a few days after Tobin's appeal and the President's statement, Henry A. Schweinhaut, Special Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice, was sent to Minneapolis with several aides to prepare the raids and the indictments which followed. On June 27th, F.B.I. agents raided the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul, seizing books by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, copies of the party's publications (although these were on public sale in many places), red flags and photographs.

Acting Attorney General Biddle announced from Washington, that same day: "the principal Socialist Workers Party leaders, against whom prosecution is being brought, are also leaders of Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis... and have gained control of a legitimate labor union to use it for illegitimate purposes." (Minneapolis Star-Journal, June 28, 1941).

Frank Barnhart, Regional Director of the CIO's United Construction Workers Organization Committee and personal representative of John L. Lewis, immediately denounced the raids as "a smear campaign against the CIO". He charged that President Roosevelt had instigated the action in payment of his political debt to Tobin, a member of the Democratic Party



National Committee and head of the Democratic Labor Committee in the 1940 Presidential election. He accused the U.S. Department of Justice with intervening on behalf of the AFL against the CIO in their dispute over the Minneapolis teamsters.

INDICTMENTS BY THE SCORE!

On July 15th the Department of Justice obtained from a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul indictment of 29 people on charges of "seditious conspiracy." Among those indicted were the officers and most active members of Local 544-CIO and national and local leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Bail was first set at \$5,000 each. Upon protest by attorneys, bail for the sixteen 544-CIO members was reduced to \$3,500 each. This was provided by the National CIO. The bail of ten others was reduced to \$2,500 each. This was provided by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Three of the defendants were released on their own recognizance.

A hailstorm of additional indictments has been heaped upon the officers of 544-CIO. On July 14th the Hennepin County Grand Jury, on a Tobin complaint, indicted Miles Dunne, President, and Kelly Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of 544-CIO, for "embezzling funds" claimed by the ARL.

On July 18, Carl Skoglund, organizer of 544-CIO, was arrested and held for deportation on \$25,000 bail. On Monday, July 28th, the Hennepin County Grand Jury voted four new indictments against Secretary-Treasurer Kelly Postal and Organizer Moe Hork for "first degree larceny." *This makes a total to date of 66 charges against those connected with this case!*

The Government's aim in heaping these indictments upon the officers and members of Local 544-CIO is plain. By crushing the union beneath the enormous burden of expensive and prolonged litigation involved in fighting the cases and by terrorizing its members, the Government helps Tobin throttle his CIO rival.

The CIO union has also had to contend with hostile actions on the part of State and local authorities. On September 19th, 1941 State Labor Board administrator Blair denied Local 544-CIO's petition for elections to determine which union represents the workers and certified the AFL without elections as bargaining agent for the Minneapolis motor transport workers. Local 544-CIO has appealed Blair's outrageous decision both in the courts and to the National Labor Relations Board.

LOCAL 544-CIO FIGHTS ON

The spirit with which Local 544-CIO faces this fight was expressed in the following speech by Frank Barnhart, Regional

Director of the UCWOC, at a membership meeting on August 11, 1941.

"The United Mine Workers is a great and powerful organization. It has had members and leaders in every jail in America. But labor's enemies were never able to break the United Mine Workers.

"The CIO organized the steel workers and the auto workers. The CIO has never tackled a fight it didn't finish. The CIO came to Minneapolis to stay until this Local 544-CIO fight is won." (*The Industrial Organizer*, August 14, 1941).

The fight on behalf of the 28 defendants in this case is thus part of the CIO's struggle to maintain democratic trade unionism amongst the Minneapolis teamsters and to build a powerful industrial union of motor transport workers throughout the nation.

TRIAL OPENS WITH HAND-PICKED JURY

The trial of the 28 began on October 27th in the Federal Court at Minneapolis. The jurors were drawn from a panel examined by the Judge alone and consisting mainly of large and small business men. Not a single trade unionist appeared among the talesmen despite the hundreds of thousands of unionists in this well-organized territory. The Federal prosecutors were obviously hurrying the case along, anxious to obtain quick convictions.

Convictions of the Minneapolis CIO leaders will not only signally assist Tobin in crushing his competitor but, as both Labor's Non-Partisan League and *The Nation* have pointed out, will also set a precedent for further government prosecutions against other militant trade unionists. This was clearly indicated by Assistant U. S. Attorney-General Schweinhaut, who was quoted in the *St. Paul Dispatch* of June 28, 1941 as saying: "We cracked down here first. Mr. Biddle has said this is only a start. So you can expect other actions to follow shortly."

POLITICAL MOTIVES FOR THE PROSECUTION

This case, however, is by no means a simple trade union affair. It is essentially a *political* prosecution. This was pointed out by the American Civil Liberties Union in its letter of protest to Attorney-General Biddle on August 20, 1941: "It seems more reasonable to conclude that the government injected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

Tobin is a 100% supporter of Roosevelt's policies. He is

also among the most prominent members of Fight for Freedom, Inc., the foremost pro-war organization in the United States. In many recent public statements, Tobin has declared that opposition to the President's war policies is "un-American" and incompatible with membership in his Teamsters International.

Local 544's weekly, *Northwest Organizer* (now *The Industrial Organizer*) on the other hand, has been a severe critic of Roosevelt's anti-labor actions and a resolute opponent of his war policies. For example, in an editorial on May 29, 1941 against Roosevelt's use of troops as strike-breakers, *The Northwest Organizer* said: "The forces most belligerently determined to put this nation into the 'war for democracy' are the very forces who imitate Hitler by taking away what democracy we still possess, and would beat down and crush labor. American labor doesn't want any part of this war. American labor is determined to defend its unions and its rights, including the right to strike."

Tobin moved to expel the 544 leaders at this particular time because, among other things, they refused to recant their avowed anti-war stand. This was affirmed in a statement issued on June 28th by Frank Barnhart, Regional Director of the UCWOC: "Not long ago Tobin issued an ultimatum to the officers and members of the AFL Teamsters Union ordering them to give unequivocal support to Roosevelt's war policy under threat of reprisals against them by Tobin if they failed to comply... A great majority of the membership of the AFL Teamsters Union is opposed to Tobin's high-handed methods and moth-eaten organizational policies. There are also many who are opposed to the war, especially in the north-west area. This is not Hitler Germany. The U. S. is still a democracy. The people of this country still have a right to express their opinions about the policies of both Tobin and Roosevelt."

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OPPOSES WAR

The political basis of the prosecution is unmistakable in the proceedings against the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has consistently and uncompromisingly opposed Roosevelt's policies as "imperialist war policies". That the government acted against the Socialist Workers Party because of its anti-war position was explicitly acknowledged by Acting Attorney-General Biddle, who was quoted in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 28th, 1941 as saying: "The principal basis for the prosecution is found in the Declaration of

Principles adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in December, 1938." The pertinent phrases mentioned by Biddle include the following: "If in spite of the revolutionists and the militant workers, the U. S. Government enters a new war, the Socialist Workers Party will not, under any circumstances support that war but will, on the contrary, fight against it. According to Biddle, "the 1938 Declaration says the Party would use a war crisis to overthrow capitalism in this country and substitute for it socialism."

The administration's inclination to stamp even the mildest critics of its war course as "seditious" is exemplified in Secretary of War Stimson's charge of treason against Senator Wheeler. If one member of the Cabinet can stigmatize an isolationist Senator as a traitor for sending to a few conscripts postcards expressing opposition to entering the war, surely Roosevelt's Attorney-General would not hesitate to treat the revolutionary anti-war position of the Socialist Workers Party as "seditious activity."

RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH VIOLATED

The full text of the indictment drawn up by the Department of Justice is reprinted at the end of this pamphlet. The accusations therein, as can be seen, refer in large measure solely and simply to the revolutionary political opinions held by the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party does not deny its revolutionary views nor its uncompromising opposition to war. It does deny, however, that the Government has any right to prosecute on that account.

The Socialist Workers Party has the same legal and constitutional rights as any other political party to advocate its ideas and propagate them. This position fully accords with our best democratic traditions and with the Bill of Rights. The right to express one's own ideas by speech or in writing or through assembly is an elementary democratic right. Rights of opinion are specifically protected against Federal violation by the First Amendment to the Constitution which states that Congress "shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

This right of free speech is unrestricted and unconditional. It cannot be denied on the ground that the doctrines advocated are revolutionary or displeasing to the administration in power. The Government's attempt to deprive the Socialist Workers

Party of its right of free opinion and expression clearly encroaches upon this provision of the Constitution.

The prosecution has already been condemned and will be fought on this ground by the American Civil Liberties Union. The violation of law in this instance is not on the part of the Socialist Workers Party but on the part of the Federal prosecutors.

REAL IDEAS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Nor is the Socialist Workers Party a secret, conspiratorial organization as the Government attempts to depict it. It is a legal political organization which has for years openly conducted political activities and participated in the labor movement. Its program has been published in numerous books and pamphlets, its views are currently expressed and discussed in various publications, its indicted leaders have long been active as prominent personalities in working class circles.

The accusation that the Socialist Workers Party is guilty of "advising, counselling and urging insubordination, disloyalty and mutiny" in the armed forces of the U. S. is based entirely upon the political ideas propagated by the party. No overt acts are specified in the indictment to back up this charge. In fact, the avowed military policy of the Socialist Workers Party provides no basis for such activities or allegations. For example, the Socialist Workers Party does not seek to gain control of the naval and military forces of the U. S., as alleged in the indictment. The Party's program calls for "military training of workers financed by the government and under control of the trade unions." There is nothing illegal in this proposal to place trade unions in charge of military training. The Plattsburg training camps, which the U. S. Government approved and subsidized, were organized and controlled by private agencies and individuals for the purpose of training business and professional men in military science. The Socialist Workers Party proposes that this same right be extended by the Government to the trade unions.

WHAT WAS THE UNION DEFENSE GUARD?

The only overt act allegedly committed by the defendants, which is specified in the indictment, is the formation of the Union Defense Guard, organized three years ago by members of Local 544. According to the prosecution, this Union Defense Guard was the instrument the Socialist Workers Party plotted to use for overthrowing the Government by force and violence. A brief account of the formation and functions of the Union

Defense Guard will suffice to dispose of this absurd accusation.

The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard was organized as an outgrowth and answer to a series of threats of violence against Local 544 and of actual vigilante attacks upon unions in other parts of the nation during the summer of 1938.

On June 22, 1938, Ralph H. Pierce, one of the leaders of the "Associated Independent Unions", launched by Minneapolis employers to fight organized labor, told officials of Local 544 and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had raised \$35,000 to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of Local 544. Eight months earlier Patrick Corcoran, Secretary-Treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, had been assassinated by unknown gunmen. The day after Pierce said the murders were to be committed, Minneapolis police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights near the Central Labor Union headquarters. This lent credence to Pierce's story.

During 1938 the Fascist Silver Shirts were extremely active in the Twin Cities. Roy Zachary, National Organizer, openly called at Silver Shirt meetings for gangster bands to raid the General Drivers Hall. The Minneapolis papers disclosed the fact that Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had attended these Silver Shirt meetings. This tie-up between the Silver Shirts and the Associated Industries, which included the leading anti-union employers in Minneapolis, convinced the members of Local 544 that measures should be taken to protect the Union hall and leaders from attack.

Numerous acts of anti-labor violence by fascist and vigilante gangs at that time in other parts of Minnesota and in New Orleans, Westwood, California, Steubenville, Ohio, New York City and Jersey City, crystallized this conviction.

ACTIVITIES OF THE DEFENSE GUARD

The formation of the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard was announced in the September 8, 1938 issue of the *Northwest Organizer*, the official organ of the Teamsters Joint Council. The functions of the Union Defense Guard were described in this story as "defense of the Union's picket lines, Union headquarters and members against anti-labor violence."

The activities of the Union Defense Guard demonstrate that such was its sole function. At meetings held in the basement of the Drivers Hall general discussions took place on

methods of repelling attacks by fascist gangs. None of the guard members carried or possessed arms.

One of the two allegations of overt acts in the indictment charges the defendants with collecting arms and ammunition to overthrow the Government. The Union Defense Guard purchased two 22-A caliber single shot target rifles, two 22-caliber single shot target pistols, and some ammunition for target practice in the basement of the General Drivers Headquarters. These four practice rifles and ammunition were purchased from funds raised through the sale of tickets to dances and public entertainments held at the Drivers Hall.

T. F. Stone wrote in *The Nation* of July 26, 1941 that the Government was especially alarmed by a test mobilization of Guard members held one evening during September, 1938 in downtown Minneapolis. "What did they do when they got there?" Mr. Schweinhaut, the Department of Justice prosecutor, was asked. Schweinhaut said they went to the Gaiety, a local burlesque house. He said that each admission cost 75 cents and "the Government wants to know who paid for the tickets." "This was told me in all seriousness," was the caustic comment of *The Nation* reporter. "I have heard of the Gunpowder Plot. Maybe this will go down in history as the G-String Conspiracy!"

The show of strength of the Union Defense Guard drove the Silver Shirts into hiding and inactivity. With the disappearance of the Silver Shirts the Union Defense Guard discontinued its target practice and drills and its sole functions thereafter were dances, and acting as ushers at union picnics and affairs. It last functioned in December 1940 when Guard members acted as ushers at the Christmas party for children sponsored by the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council.

Such is the record of the "armed forces" which were supposedly planning to march on Washington and take over the government. Who does the prosecution expect to believe that story? Indeed, this accusation had already been dismissed as baseless in the 544 "Fink Suit", when Judge Paul S. Carroll stated in his findings: "According to the Union's position, these so-called 'defense guards' were organized 'to meet the threat of Silver Shirt leaders and other anti-labor gangsters' and to defend armed raids against union halls. It was not shown that these men were ever armed or did other than general policing at their picnics and things of that sort."

INDICTED UNDER REACTIONARY SMITH "OMNIBUS GAG" ACT

The indictment has been drawn up under the provisions of two laws. One is a new law, the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act, introduced by a Poll-Tax Congressman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, and passed in 1940. The Smith Act is the most reactionary piece of anti-labor legislation ever enacted in the U. S. and was so characterized during the debates in Congress. "This bill is an attempt to put an end to this trend toward real democracy", said Representative Geyer of California. "It is an attempt to break the labor movement. It is an attack on a minority group."

"It is enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave," said Representative Martin of Colorado. "It is without precedent in the history of labor legislation. It is an invention of intolerance contrary to every principle of democracy."

The American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto the Smith Bill on the ground that it was unconstitutional and "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor." President Roosevelt nevertheless signed it.

The American Civil Liberties Union's prediction has now been fulfilled in the Minnesota case. According to *The Nation*, the Department of Justice itself has no confidence in the constitutionality of the Smith Act: "Off the record, at least one official engaged in the prosecution is prepared to admit that the Supreme Court may find the sedition provisions of the Smith Act unconstitutional. For the first time in peace, since the Alien & Sedition Laws of John Adams, a mere expression of opinion is made a Federal crime. Under these provisions, a man might be sent to jail for ten years because he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both 'advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government' by force."

The other law, Section 6 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code governing "seditious conspiracy," was passed in July, 1861 during the Civil War to be used against the Confederacy. Since no particle of evidence can be presented in this case of any such open armed rebellion against the government, this law obviously cannot apply. As *The Nation* points out: "The rebellion of which the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 are guilty was leaving the AFL for the CIO." It is not a penal offense for American workers to quit one labor organization for another.

THE REAL FACTS IN THIS CASE

Our review of the facts in this case has irrefutably established the following points.

1. After Local 544 had voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, Roosevelt responded to Tobin's plea for assistance by setting in motion the machinery of the Department of Justice which resulted in the raids and indictments. This intervention of the Federal authorities on behalf of one labor organization in its controversy with another constitutes a rank abuse of the legal functions of the Government.

2. The Socialist Workers Party does not conspire to overthrow the government by force and violence. Its object is to educate the majority of the people to accept the idea that a change in the social system is necessary to solve their economic and social problems.

3. There was no conspiracy whatsoever on the part of the defendants to overthrow the government by force and violence. The attempt to depict the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard as an armed band organized for this purpose is fantastic.

4. The Government is violating the free-speech provisions of the Constitution by instituting this repressive criminal action against the Socialist Workers Party.

5. Through this prosecution the Government is attempting to crush militant and independent unionism and to stifle the anti-war forces in the ranks of labor.

Roosevelt seeks to imprison the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party because of their anti-war views, as Woodrow Wilson jailed Eugene V. Debs and other socialists for opposing the last war. Attorney General Biddle is today prosecuting the militant unionists of Local 544-CIO as Attorney General Palmer prosecuted the members of the I.W.W.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND LABOR'S RIGHTS IMPERILED

Will the American people and the American labor movement fight to maintain their civil liberties and democratic rights? Or will the Roosevelt administration, under pretext of wartime emergency and in defiance of the Constitution, abrogate and deny them? This is the central issue posed by this case.

The Administration's attitude toward civil rights today has been bluntly expressed by the prosecutor. During the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on his nomination early in September, in defense of FBI tapping of Harry Bridges' wires, Attorney General Biddle declared: "It is a dirty business, of

course... but we have abandoned civil rights before in times of war." (*New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1941).

NATION-WIDE PROTEST AGAINST THE PROSECUTION

Labor's Non-Partisan League, the political arm of the CIO, of which John L. Lewis is Chairman, has emphasized the menace of the prosecution to the union movement. "Witch-hunting tactics of the Justice Department under A. Mitchell Palmer in World War I are being revived here as history repeats itself in World War II. This is a clear case of Justice Department interference in a trade union matter. The incident is regarded generally as an attempt by the Justice Department to establish a precedent. If it is successful, many informed observers are expecting other indictments of labor figures who do not toe the mark."

"This is one of the most serious issues involving civil liberties to arise in the U.S. in many years," wrote *The New Republic* on July 28, 1941. "That the Minneapolis case is tremendously important goes without saying. President Roosevelt and Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle have repeatedly promised that there would be no such violations of civil liberties as stained the honor of America in the last war. For a country preparing to fight for the principles of democracy, now to violate these principles... would be unforgivable; it would be worth ten divisions to Hitler."

The thousand delegates to the last annual Convention of the United Auto Workers held at Buffalo in August not only pledged full support to Local 544 in its fight but unanimously protested against this use of the FBI "to oppress or harass any labor organization in the pursuit of their legitimate activities."

"Even the language of the indictment has the peculiar twist of Stalin's famous frame-ups in Moscow," writes John Dos Passos in an article condemning the prosecution in *The Nation* of September 6, 1941. "If the defendants are convicted," he says, "a precedent will have been set that bodes ill for this country's liberties."

The American Civil Liberties Union has publicly protested the prosecution and is cooperating with the defense in fighting the case.

These labor and liberal organizations have realized that a successful prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Local 544-CIO would become the forerunner of an

"all-out" attack upon other trade union militants and minority political groups.

That is why the 28 defendants in this case are today the front-line fighters in the cause of civil liberties in this country. That is why they merit whole-hearted moral and material support from every progressive organization and individual genuinely concerned with maintaining our democratic and constitutional rights. That is why the Civil Rights Defense Committee has been organized. That is why their fight against the prosecution must be won.

TEXT OF THE FEDERAL INDICTMENT

At a stated term of the District Court of the United States of America for the district of Minnesota begun and held at the City of St. Paul, within and for the district and division aforesaid, on the first Tuesday in April, being the first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one, by a duly empaneled, charged, and sworn grand jury of the United States of America within and for said district, it is presented in manner and form following, that is to say:

The Grand Jurors of the United States of America within and for said district in the name and by the authority of the said United States of America, upon their oaths present that from and before the 16th day of July, 1938, and continuously thereafter until the day of filing of this indictment, in the Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, in the State and District of Minnesota, and within the jurisdiction of this Court, and in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, and in the City and State of New York, and elsewhere, one

Vincent Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Miles B. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Harry DeBoer, Jake Cooper, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell, Edward Palmquist, Rose Sellar, Albert Goldman, Oscar Schoenfeld, George Frosig, Emil Hanson, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orgon, Ray Rainbolt, Grant Dunne, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom and Nick Wagner hereinafter referred to as "defendants," then and there being, did unlawfully, wilfully, knowingly, and feloniously conspire, plan, combine, confederate, and agree together and with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, hereinafter referred to as "co-conspirators," to overthrow, put down, and to destroy by force the Government of the United States of America, and to oppose by force the authority thereof.

And the Grand Jurors do present that as part of said conspiracy and as ways and means by which it would be accomplished, the following steps, among others, were to be and were taken, all in the city of Minneapolis, State and District aforesaid, and elsewhere within the period of time alleged in this indictment:

1. The defendants, who were officers, leaders, active members, and in control of a certain political party or organization known as the Socialist Workers Party, which said party or organization was composed of a large number of persons, the exact number being to the Grand Jurors unknown, would procure, induce, influence, incite, and encourage

the members of the Socialist Workers Party, and divers other persons, whose names are to the Grand Jurors unknown, to join with them to bring about the overthrow by force of the Government of the United States, and the destruction thereof by force, and the opposition by force to the authority thereof.

2. The defendants would seek to bring about, whenever the time seemed to them propitious, an armed revolution against the Government of the United States, and the authority thereof.

3. Said armed revolution would be brought about and joined in by the workers and laborers and farmers of the United States, or as many of them as said defendants and their co-conspirators could procure and induce to engage therein.

4. Said workers, laborers and farmers would be by the defendants and their co-conspirators, urged, counseled, and persuaded that the Government of the United States was imperialistic, capitalistic and organized and constituted for the purpose of subjecting workers and laborers to various and sundry deprivations and for the purpose of denying to them an alleged right to own, control and manage all property and industry in the United States, all to the end that said workers and laborers would be willing to take part in the armed revolution envisaged and projected by said defendants.

5. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all major industries, among others the transportation, mining, lumbering, farming, shipping, and manufacturing industries, so that said party members could and would induce, persuade, and procure the workers and laborers in said industries to join said party, embrace its principles and objectives and obey the commands of its leaders, thereby enabling the defendants and other leaders of said Socialist Workers Party to obtain and exercise absolute control of all industries in the United States to the end that by paralyzing the same, said projected armed revolution could be more easily and successfully accomplished.

6. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all trade unions and said party members would, especially endeavor to obtain absolute control over such trade unions, so that the members thereof, comprising a vast number of workers and laborers in the United States, would be subject to the will and commands of said party leaders, thus enabling the defendants and their co-conspirators to bring about a complete stoppage of work in the major industries of the United States at any given time, and preventing thereby the duly constituted Government of the United States from adequately defending itself against the armed revolution the defendants conspired to bring about.

7. The defendants and their co-conspirators would endeavor by any means at their disposal to procure members of the military and naval forces of the United States to become undisciplined, to complain about food, living conditions, and missions to which they would be assigned, to create dissension, dissatisfaction and insubordination among the armed forces, to impair the loyalty and morale thereof, and finally to seek to gain control of said naval and military forces so that the enlisted personnel thereof would revolt against its officers, thereby enabling said defendants to overcome and put down by force and arms the constitutional Government of the United States.

8. When the Selective Service Act was passed, the members of said Socialist Workers Party would be urged to willingly accept service, but after being induced into the army of the United States, to do everything in their power to disrupt, hinder, and impair the efficient function-

ing thereof, and when the appropriate time came to turn their weapons against their officers.

9. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did advocate and attempt to bring about control of the militia by the workers and laborers of the United States, especially by trade unions; and the defendants would advise, counsel, and encourage the said workers and laborers to arm themselves and to become proficient and trained in the use thereof so that they would be better equipped to overthrow, destroy, and put down by force the Government of the United States.

10. Workers and laborers would be, and they were, organized into military units which would be armed and drilled and taught how skillfully to use pistols and rifles, which said units would be, and were, called "Union Defense Guards"; said units would ostensibly be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions, but were in truth and fact, designed and intended to be used ultimately to overthrow, destroy, and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States.

11. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, by and for the use of themselves and other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, procure certain explosives, fire-arms, ammunition, weapons and military equipment, for the aforesaid purpose.

12. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of the revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, would be, and they were, looked to, relied on, followed and held out to others as catechisms and textbooks directing the manner and means by which the aforesaid aim of the defendants could, and would be, accomplished; and accordingly, certain of the defendants would, and they did, go from the City of Minneapolis, State and District of Minnesota, and from other cities in the United States to Mexico City, Mexico, there to advise with and to receive the advice, counsel, guidance, and directions of the said Leon Trotsky.

13. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the governments so characterized, the Government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

SECOND COUNT

And the Grand Jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present that heretofore, to-wit: beginning the 28th day of June, 1940, and continuously thereafter until the day of the filing of this indictment, at the Cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, in the State

and District of Minnesota, and within the jurisdiction of this Court and in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, and in the City and State of New York, and elsewhere, one Vincent Ray Dunne, Carl Skoglund, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Miles B. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Harry De Boer, Jake Cooper, Max Goldman, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell, Edward Palmquist, Rose Seiler, Albert Goldman, Oscar Schoenfeld, George Frosig, Emil Hanson, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orgon, Ray Rainbolt, Grant Dunne, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom, and Nick Wagner, hereinafter referred to as "defendants," then and there being, did unlawfully, willfully, knowingly and feloniously conspire, plan, combine, confederate and agree together and with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, hereinafter referred to as "co-conspirators" to commit certain acts prohibited by certain statutes of the United States, namely, Section 9 and 10 of Title 18 of the United States Code, in that they in the Cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, State and District of Minnesota, and elsewhere, and during the period of time alleged in this count:

1. With the intent to interfere with, impair and influence the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States, would

a. Advise, counsel, urge, and cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States, and

b. Distribute written and printed matter which advised, counseled, and urged insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty by members of the military and naval forces of the United States, and

2. Knowingly and willfully would, and they did, advocate, abet, advise and teach the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

3. With the intent to cause the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States would, and they did, print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute and publicly display written and printed matter advocating, advising, and teaching the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

4. Would, and they did, organize and help to organize societies, groups and assemblies of persons to teach, advocate and encourage the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

5. Would be, and did, become members of and affiliated with such societies, groups and assemblies knowing the purpose thereof.

And the Grand Jurors do present that the said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, attempt to carry out and accomplish said conspiracy in the manner set out in numbered paragraphs 1 to 13, inclusive, in the first count of this indictment; Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 11 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States. Dated July 15, 1941

WENDELL BERGE,
Assistant Attorney General
HENRY A. SCHWEINHART,
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

VICTOR E. ANDERSON,
United States Attorney for
the District of Minnesota

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1179 Market Street - Room 512
MEETINGS 1st & 3rd SUNDAYS 7 P.M.
For Information Call Market 2561

This Pamphlet Has Been Published By

The Civil Rights Defense Committee

*Organized to Aid the 28 Defendants within
Minnesota Federal Prisons*

JAMES F. FARRELL, Chairman

JOHN DOB BASSER, Vice Chairman

CARLO TRESCA, Vice Chairman

GEORGE NOVACEK, Vice Chairman

EMERGENCY APPEAL

The Civil Rights Defense Committee needs \$7,500 immediately to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. Aid the 28 defendants by contributing promptly and generously to their Defense Fund. Make all checks payable to the

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

100 WEST AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

215

Why We Are In Prison

Foretell Speeches of the 18 SWP and 544 CIO

Minneapolis Prisoners



"Our party didn't sell out, didn't lie. We told the truth. That is why we are being railroaded to prison."
— James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

10 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Published March 1944

SET UP, PRINTED AND BOUND

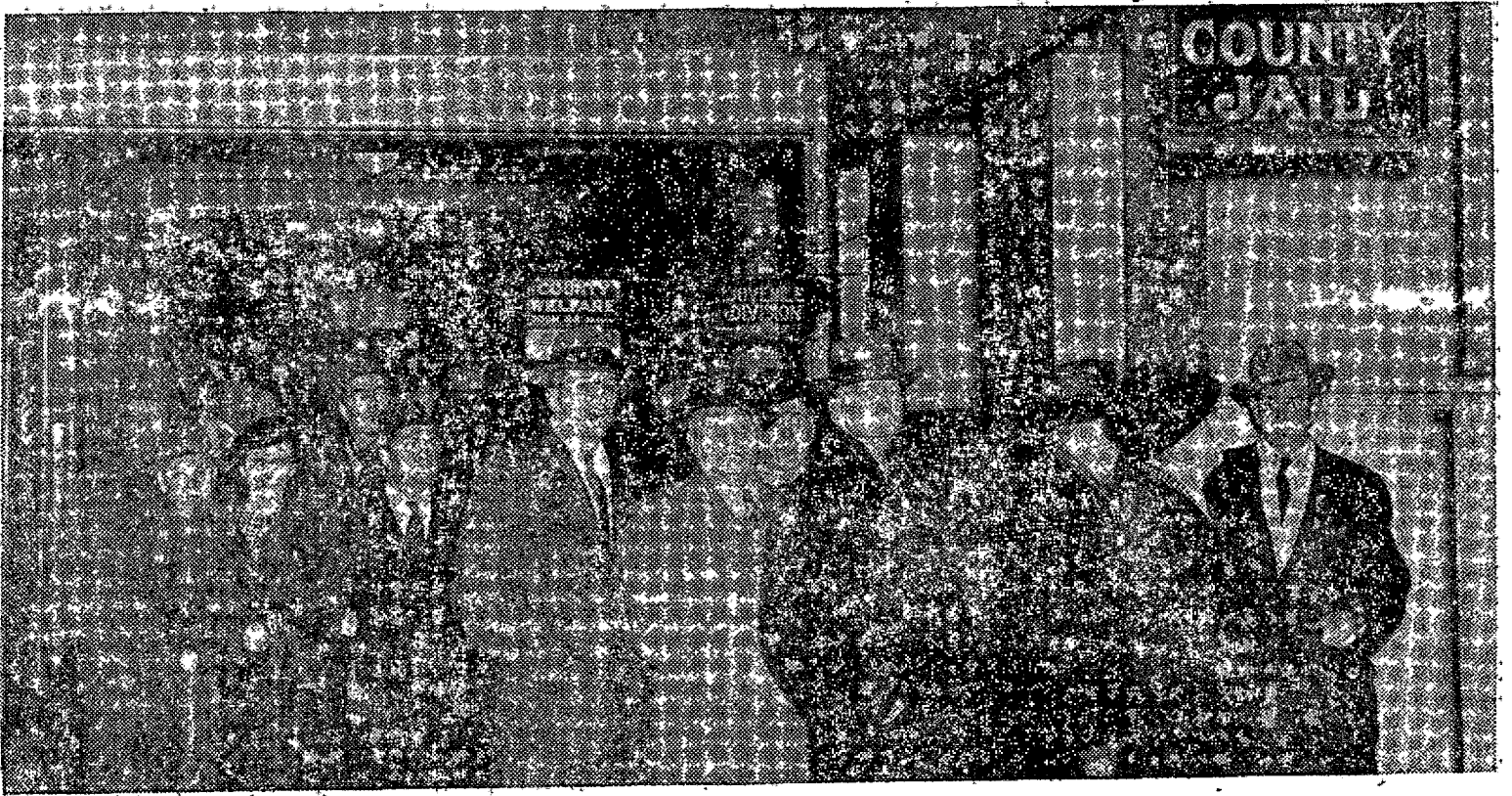
by

UNION LABOR



Contents

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	5
SPEECHES AT NEW YORK BANQUET	
James P. Cannon	9
Farrell Dobbs	15
Felix Morrow	23
Alfred Russell	27
Karl Kuehn	30
Oscar Schoenfeld	30
SPEECH OF ALBERT GOLDMAN	18
SPEECHES AT MINNEAPOLIS BANQUET	32
SPEECH OF ROSE KARSNER	35
SPEECH OF GEORGE GRANT	36
HOW THE TROTSKYISTS WENT TO JAIL	
By Joseph Hansen	39



15 of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders pause for a moment on Dec. 31 as they approach the entrance of the Hennepin County Jail, Minneapolis, where they spent three days before final incarceration in federal prisons. The 14 men are now imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn. Grace Carlson is confined in the federal prison for women at Alderson, W. Va. The other three prisoners are in the federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn.

Introduction

The Minneapolis Labor Case, involving the conviction and imprisonment of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO, represents for American labor during World War II what the imprisonment of the great Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs meant in the First World War.

Today, as then, the American capitalist ruling class and its government agents struck with their frameup weapons against the political vanguard of the working class. Today, as then, the masters of the United States began their savage onslaught on labor by jailing the most conscious, consistent and irreconcilable opponents of their imperialist war and reactionary program at home.

The Minneapolis case arose from the background of the historic struggles of the Minneapolis Teamsters Union. This union first came into national prominence in 1934 when, under the guidance of Trotskyist leaders like Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs and others imprisoned in the Minneapolis case, the underpaid and sweated truckdrivers won a series of smashing victories against the employers in a notoriously open-shop city and established the strongest union in the Northwest.

In their fight to make Minneapolis a union town, the Trotskyist leaders of the Truckdrivers Union were confronted not only by the die-hard opposition of the powerful employers association, professional strike-breakers, together with the National Guard and other agencies of the capitalist class. They also had to struggle from the first against the reactionary bureaucrats in control of the AFL Teamsters International headed by Daniel J. Tobin.

The hostility between Tobin and the militant unionists of Local 544 came to a head in the spring of 1941 when American capitalism and its government were already clearing the decks for participation in the world war. The imminence of entry into the war, with its inevitable regimentation of the American people and slashing of the workers' wages and living standards, impelled the

union-bureaucracy to rid their organizations of all militant leaders and to impose dictatorial rule throughout their union apparatus. Tobin, one of Roosevelt's leading labor lieutenants, was determined at all costs to purge the Teamsters Union of the Trotskyist leaders, whose policies and prestige constituted a growing challenge to his domination and stood as a major obstacle blocking his aim of binding the teamsters' movement to the war machine.

Tobin served an ultimatum upon the democratically elected 544 leadership that they abdicate and turn over the union they had built to a dictator-receiver designated by Tobin. The membership indignantly rejected this bureaucratic demand. At a regular union meeting attended by 4,000 members they voted by overwhelming majority to disaffiliate from the AFE and join the CIO. Other teamster locals in the Northwest followed suit or contemplated similar action.

ROOSEVELT AIDS TOBIN

In panicky desperation, Tobin turned to Roosevelt for help. Had he not been a servile tool of the Administration? Had he not faithfully lined up labor votes for Roosevelt and served as a labor front on the Democratic Party's National Committee?

In reply to Tobin's telegram that the Local 544 leaders "be in some way prevented from pursuing this dangerous course," Roosevelt's Secretary, Stephen Early, issued the following White House press statement, signifying Roosevelt's intention to intervene in the situation: "When I advised the President of Mr. Tobin's representations this morning, *he asked me immediately to have the government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified, and to point out that this is no time, in his opinion, for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another.*" (*N. Y. Times*, June 14, 1941.) (Italics ours.) It was subsequently disclosed by the government's testimony in the trial that FBI men had been at work for many months stirring up opposition within Local 544.

Now Attorney General Biddle's G-men went into open action. They raided Socialist Workers Party headquarters in the Twin Cities, supposedly to seize "evidence"—pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, and publicly sold Socialist and Trotskyist pamphlets and publications. Then 29 Local 544 CIO and SWP leaders were indicted under two federal statutes. One, a law passed during the Civil War for use against the armed rebellion of the slave owners, was invoked to prove that the defendants, by organizing a Union Defense Guard

to protect their union against Silver Shirt fascist gangs, had actually conspired to forcibly overthrow the U. S. Government! This part of the frameup was so flimsy and fantastic that it was thrown out by the jury.

The other statute was the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940, sponsored by poll-tax Representative Howard W. Smith; the first federal law since the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which makes expression of opinion a crime. This was the first case in which this repressive law was used.

In a lengthy trial which ran for weeks, the government prosecutors used every device and anti-labor argument to frame up and railroad the defendants. Despite their efforts, 10 prospective victims were acquitted. Grant Dunne, brother of defendants Vincent and Miles Dunne, a sick, shell-shocked veteran of the First World War, had been hounded into suicide prior to the trial. 18 defendants were found guilty of violating the Smith "Gag" Act.

On Dec. 8, 1941—symbolically, the day the United States officially entered the war—the 18 Trotskyists were given prison sentences, ranging from twelve to sixteen months. In October 1943, the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the convictions. Two months later, in unprecedented decisions, the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to hear an appeal in this important test case, even though these were the first convictions under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act which has been condemned by the entire labor movement and by all civil liberties organizations as a clear violation of the Bill of Rights. On New Year's Eve, 1944, the 18 were sent to prison.

AIMS OF PROSECUTION

The prosecution and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist and CIO leaders directly refute the hypocritical claims of the Roosevelt Administration and the American ruling class about their "democratic" objectives in this war. As *The Militant* stated editorially on Jan. 3, 1944: "The imprisonment of our 18 comrades will become a damning accusation against this regime of repression and war. In this self-proclaimed war to establish the 'four freedoms' all over the world, Roosevelt is trampling on the freedom of the American people here at home."

Today it should be obvious to all informed workers that the prosecution and conviction of the 18 was but one of the first steps in the employer-government drive to hogtie and throttle the whole

intellectuals who had promised to instruct and educate and inform the youth—they all betrayed the people of America, they sold them out and went over to the camp of the liars and deceivers. Our party alone did not betray, did not sell out. We Trotskyists told the truth. That is the reason, and the only reason, we are on our way to prison. We obeyed the first commandment in the decalogue of Trotskyism, which reads: "Thou shalt not lie."

THE REAL CRIMINALS

We are not criminals, as you know, and as all of the others know. We are not going to prison for any fault or injury committed against unoffending people. We didn't kill, we didn't steal, and we didn't lie. On the contrary, we have been just and truthful. All the criminals are on the other side. And all the liars are on the other side, beginning with the judge and prosecutor in Minneapolis and ending with the highest court in the land. That is where the criminals are. I say that those nine black-gowned justices of the Supreme Court in Washington are just as criminal as any of them. They are on a level with Roosevelt and Biddle who started the prosecution and the lesser figures who carried it through. The august Court did not pass judgment upon us. They played the ignominious role of Pontius Pilate who washed his hands.

The Supreme Court of the United States, many of whom were once members of the American Civil Liberties Union—democrats, if you please, and liberals who frowned upon the morality of the Bolsheviks and the Marxists—showed us what their morality consists of. They were not concerned if honest people had been condemned. They were not concerned if the treasured Bill of Rights had been trampled into the mire. They didn't see the act. They turned away. They washed their hands.

I say they are all liars and conspirators. They are all on the side of the rich and the privileged, and their actions, from beginning to end, have been entirely consistent with this position. Everything, from the time when Roosevelt gave Biddle instructions to start the prosecutions against us, up to the trial, up to the verdict and the condemnation, up to the sentencing in the Federal Court of Judge Joyce, up to the Pontius Pilate action of the Supreme Court of the United States, everything is consistent, everything is in order in the camp of the liars, the friends of the rich and privileged.

But how do matters stand with us? Are we consistent too?

Yes, indeed. Everything is in order on our side. We neither laugh nor weep; we understand. We have understood from the beginning what might be the consequences of our undertaking. All people pay for their ideas what they think the ideas are worth. If some men are not prepared to pay with the sacrifice of one day's liberty or the missing of one meal or a little inconvenience for the sake of his ideas, they are only saying thereby that they set no serious value upon them. But we think our ideas are the most important thing in this world, that they represent the whole future of mankind. That is why, if we have to pay even a high price for the sake of those ideas, we pay it without whimpering. We are Trotskyists, you remember, and that means we are political people of a different breed. The Trotskyist party is not like the other parties. It is a different kind of a party, different not in degree, but in kind, in quality. Other parties and other politicians set limits to what they will do. But the Trotskyists set no limit on what they will do for their ideas and, in the last analysis, they set no limits on the price they are prepared to pay for them. The others play for pennies, but the Trotskyist stakes his head. Therein is the difference. Therein is the chasm that separates the vanguard of the coming proletarian revolution from all politicians and parties who merely dabble with the idea.

A CRUEL PUNISHMENT

I am not one of those who take lightly the iniquity that has been perpetrated against us. It is a severe and cruel punishment. We who love freedom, and live for the idea of freedom, are condemned to lose it for ourselves. We will not be free to come and go as we please. Our days and nights, through the long months leading up to the end of our sentence, will be regulated and all our movements circumscribed by others. That will not be easy for rebels to bear. We will be forced into inactivity. What can be more cruel to a revolutionary activist than to be deprived of the opportunity to take part in the movement which means life to him—the very breath of life?

And then, also, it is no light matter that we have to be separated from our families and they from us. True, we don't cry and, as Rose said so magnificently in her speech here tonight, our women don't moan. But nevertheless, we are human too. If we are struck a blow, we hurt, and if we are stabbed, we bleed. Separation from

labor movement. Proceeding from this first assault upon labor and democratic rights, the Administration, Congress and the courts, under pressure of Big Business, have since built up an oppressive structure of laws and edicts in their campaign to stifle the voice of militant labor and crush out its life. The Smith "Gag" Act, virtually validated by the precedent set in the Minneapolis case, has been followed by the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. And now, as a climax, Roosevelt and the brass hats are seeking to impose forced labor upon the entire working class.

The struggle to free the 18 has thus become an inseparable part of labor's struggle against the present Roosevelt-Wall Street anti-labor offensive.

Shortly before they were sent to prison, the 18 Trotskyist and union leaders were tendered farewell banquets by their comrades and friends in New York City and Minneapolis. They took this opportunity to reaffirm their revolutionary socialist convictions and their loyalty to the working class in its struggle for emancipation. These statements, testimony to the prisoners' uncompromising and unshakable devotion to socialist principles, are contained in this pamphlet.

Six of the speeches, those by James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Schoenfeld, Alfred Russell and Karl Kuehn, were delivered at the farewell banquet held at the Irving Plaza, New York, on Dec. 26, 1943. The speech of Albert Goldman, defense attorney in the trial as well as defendant, was made before a Civil Rights Defense Committee mass meeting at the Manhattan Center, New York, Dec. 16, 1943. Vincent R. Dunne, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson, Harry DeBoer, Carlos Hudson, Max Goldman, Emil Hansen, Edward Palmquist, Clarence Hamel and Jake Cooper spoke before the Minneapolis farewell banquet held in the local SWP headquarters, Dec. 28, 1943.

The speech of Rose Karsner, at the New York banquet, was delivered on behalf of the wives and relatives of the defendants. George Grant, organizer of the New York local of the SWP, spoke on behalf of the members and sympathizers of the party.

The article, "How the Trotskyists Went to Jail," by Joseph Hansen, is an eye-witness story of the last hours of the prisoners before going behind prison bars.

SPEECH OF JAMES P. CANNON

This last opportunity to speak to you for a period, comrades, is also the first opportunity I have had to thank you all for the gifts that were presented to me and Rose on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of our movement. We were both given gold watches by the comrades of Local New York. While I will not be able to take the watch with me to Sandstone penitentiary, I will, nevertheless, be able to take something even more valuable than the watch or any other material gift. That is, the memory of your kindness and your friendship.

It is always the most important thing in a new situation to understand what it is, to know exactly what has happened and why. Trotsky taught us that, among many other things. He frequently repeated his favorite motto from Spinoza: "Neither to weep nor to laugh, but to understand."

The new situation is very clear to us and I think our understanding is accurate. As the United States began to gear all its machinery for entry into the new imperialist war, it became necessary again to fool the people. Here, as throughout the world, a tremendous, worldwide mechanism of deception, falsification and misrepresentation was turned loose on the people. It was once said that in every war the first casualty is the truth, and surely the truth was the first casualty of this war. The world is flooded, inundated by lies. We are living, you might say, in the epoch of the lie. Natalia Trotsky, in a letter she wrote to us not long ago, said that the lie has entered like a geologic layer into the spiritual life of the people of the world, but even geologic layers are not indestructible. The coming social revolution will blow the stratum of lies to bits, as a volcano blows up a geologic stratum.

In this time, when the people of the world, and the people of America among them, needed one thing more than anything else—to know the truth—they were fed on lies. All those in public life, all the political parties, all the preachers, priests and rabbis, the

those whose lives are bound to us in an intimate personal way is no less cruel a punishment for us than for others. Perhaps it is even more cruel, because our personal intimate associations are bound up with a complete community of ideas and activity in every element of life. Such associations are perhaps a little closer, even a little dearer, if you will, than those of ordinary people who don't value ideas very much and who, consequently, don't attract to themselves personal associations such as ours. But even if it hurts a little more, we can stand it better than the others because we are doing it in behalf of a cause that is more important than our personal lives. It is the cause that lifts us up and gives us strength. Socialism is greater than a mother and dearer than a wife. Knowing that, and knowing that our separation is forced upon us because of our devotion to the higher cause, is what makes it possible to bear and to withstand.

SOCIALISM WORTH THE FIGHT

We haven't been taken by surprise. We have not been suddenly pulled up short and required to make a decision whether we are prepared to pay this price. Our decision was made in advance. We knew to begin with that to tell the truth, to take up the cause of the poor and the persecuted against the rich and the mighty, to tell the truth in the face of all the liars in the world—we knew that course entailed risks. I knew that more than thirty years ago when I entered the socialist movement as a youth. Socialism lifted me out of the drab surroundings and meager life of the poor town of Rosedale, Kansas, and showed me the vision of a new world. I thought it was good. I thought it worth fighting for. I was ready, more than thirty years ago, to fight for it at all hazards. Nothing has ever changed my sense of proportion and of values in that respect. Neither persecution, nor poverty, nor hardship, nor the long days of internal struggles and factional quarrels that sear the souls of men in the political movement—not all of that was able to change me or break me because I never forgot what I started out to fight for. I kept undimmed my vision of the socialist future of mankind. Having that attitude, as all of the 18 do, we can put so-called sacrifices in their proper setting and attribute to them their right place with a due sense of proportion.

Ben Hanford, one of the best loved of all the early socialist agitators in this country, once objected to a comrade's statement

that he had made great sacrifices for the movement. He said he had received from the socialist movement something far greater and far better than he had ever been able to contribute to it. He had only been able to give time, effort and material means, but the socialist movement had given him a cause that was bigger than self. Therefore, he had a warrant for living in a world of poverty, hardship, discrimination and injustice. "So please don't speak of my sacrifices," said Ben Hanford. "Socialism made a man of me, and I can never repay the movement for that."

OUR PARTY IS STRONG

We have not been idle in our time of comparative freedom. We have labored and we have created something that we can leave behind, very sure that it will not fall apart. A movement that is built upon ideas is a power that is hard to destroy. Indeed, it cannot be destroyed. You remember the tragic time three years ago last August, when Trotsky fell victim to the assassin. Many people speculated that now with the great genius leader dead, the movement he had created would be scattered to the four winds and soon disappear. We knew it was not so, because the ideas Trotsky left behind were a mighty cement to keep the ranks together. The party didn't fall into disintegration. Far from it, the party continued to live and to grow. That will be the case now too. We go to prison confident that we are leaving behind us capable men and women who are qualified to take our places in the leadership of the party. They have not been selected in a hurry. When the decision of the Supreme Court was announced, we did not need an emergency meeting and a hurried search for comrades to take our places in the leading positions. That had already been decided by the 15th Anniversary Plenum of our party. But even the Plenum decision was only a formality. In reality the substitute leadership had been decided by the fifteen years of work and struggle in which certain individual comrades had been sifted out. They had shown their caliber. They had come forward, and by common consent they were designated to step into the places vacated by the 18.

Our party is built on correct ideas and therefore is indestructible. But, in addition to that, I believe there is in this party of ours an intangible power which reinforces the power of its ideas. That is the spirit of the party—its comradeship, its solidarity. You know the word "comrade" has been so long abused and so badly defiled

by self-seekers and pretenders that honest people sometimes shrink from using the word any more. But in the movement that has been created under the inspiration of Trotsky, with his example always before us, the word "comrade" has acquired a new, fresh meaning that animates the members of our movement, not only in their political work in the class struggle, but also in all their daily lives and in their associations with each other. It is not any more, not with us, a formal and conventional word, but a bond of unity and solidarity. Our comrades are devoted to each other and trust each other. That is an intangible source of power that will yield great results in the days to come.

The grandest figure in the whole history of America was John Brown. In John Brown of Osawatimie the word and the deed were always in harmony with each other, never in contradiction, never in conflict. When the old warrior went to Harpers Ferry, to "interfere," as he said, against the abomination of chattel slavery, he took a small group of young men with him, among them some of his own sons. They went to Harpers Ferry where they perished, because like Luther they could do no other. They felt required to do it. When Watson Brown, the son of the old man, lay dying in the firehouse, bleeding from his wounds, with his head resting on an old pair of overalls, the great governor of the slave state of Virginia came in to see him. He said to Watson Brown, "Young man, what brought you here?" Watson Brown answered him in two words: "Duty, Sir!"

WE HAVE DONE OUR PART

I believe that is the case with us. I believe that we have been under the same compulsion as John Brown's young men were. We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it. We saw the vision of a socialist society and were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards. We have done our duty. And that, to me, on the eve of departure for Sandstone, is the important thing. That is why we go to the next stage of the struggle with a sure self-confidence and a self-assurance.

We are historically minded. We know that in the great scale of history our personal fate is a trifle, our lives are a trifle. But the socialist goal of our struggle, that is no trifle. To serve that goal, as we have served it, that is enough. Let the consequences be what

they may. Whether we participate in the final victory of the struggle of mankind for its socialist future, or whether it has to be built on a foundation of our bones, it will still be good for us that we took part in it and we will have our justification and our reward. No liars and conspirators, no Supreme Court and no prison can take that satisfaction away from us. We were obliged to do what we did. As a consequence of our truth-telling and our struggle we are now obliged to go to prison. We go there, however, not as criminals but because duty takes us there.

SPEECH OF FARRELL DOBBS

Comrades: I have never been in jail. But some of my best friends have been in jail. And therefore I have had a great deal of kindly advice and feel amply prepared to meet all of the exigencies of the period ahead.

One of our comrades who was imprisoned at the time of the trial in Minneapolis in 1941—in the penitentiary where some of us are now going—told us a very interesting story about the reactions of the men in the penitentiary during the trial of the 28 in Minneapolis. He said that these men in the prison followed closely the reports of the trial in the Minneapolis press, and they were absolutely convinced that it was only a matter of hours or days at most, as the trial proceeded, until at least one of the many defendants would testify on behalf of the government and, in prison parlance, put the finger on the others. He related how they watched with absolute disbelief, as the trial unfolded, day after day, and they read the accounts in the paper. They saw the prosecution present its case. They saw the prosecution witnesses, the Tobin stool-pigeons, the FBI college boys and the rest of their stooges take the stand one after another to testify against the defendants, and, finally, in amazement, they saw the prosecution rest its case without putting a single one of the defendants on the stand to testify against the others. They saw the defendants go forward with the defense testimony, standing solid. Everyone who testified held to his convictions, refused

to waver or weaken in the face of the prosecution. And when the judge passed sentence, the 18 who finally were convicted stood absolutely firm, looked the judge in the eye when he passed sentence and walked out of the courtroom with heads erect. And these men in the penitentiary couldn't believe this. They asked our comrades in the penitentiary, "What kind of people are these comrades of yours?" They knew the time-tried method of the prosecution—to lump together a mass of defendants, figuring with absolute certainty that, under the law of averages, there would be at least one weakling in the group who will break down and give aid and support to the government in its case against the others. "What kind of people are these?" They couldn't understand. And they are not the only ones who couldn't understand.

ONE-HUNDRED-PERCENTERS

But these comrades who stood before the court are typical of the kind of people that make up the membership of the Socialist Workers Party. We are a party of one-hundred-percenters. We have made up our minds that the great cause to which we have dedicated our lives is more important than anything else in this world. We place it before every other consideration. Nothing else is dearer to us. And we laugh with disdain at the capitalist tyrants who try by their persecutions, by their legal frameups and their prisons to swerve us from our path, try to frighten us away from the fight for the great goal for which we struggle. We understand—every one of us—that nothing is more important than the working-class cause to which we dedicate our lives.

Some of the newer comrades, now coming into the party, are only just beginning to assimilate this knowledge. But, comrades, as you live, as you learn, as you go forward in our party waging the great struggle, you will draw to yourselves strength and reassurance and courage and confidence from the comrades who will be standing at your side, fighting shoulder to shoulder with you. And each of us draws from our group collectively, our party as a whole, that strength to stand in the face of all persecution, that strength to go forward and fight against all obstacles and against all odds.

Now our case—the case of the 18—perhaps seems more dramatic than the struggle, the life, the work, the role of other comrades in the party. But, in truth, that is not so. We are the kind of dynamic organization that we are because each and every member of the

party stands in his appointed place and serves as best he can in accordance with his capacities, and serves in a greater capacity as he or she develops in the course of his or her training and experience. Collectively as a party, we march forward with the working class in the ranks of the working class, standing in the vanguard of the working class. And while it may seem a great sacrifice for some of us to go to prison, risks just as great are taken, sacrifices just as great are made by other comrades every day in carrying our struggle forward. The comrades fighting shoulder to shoulder with the workers in the unions, in the factories, on the picket line are always in the forefront of the struggle, taking all the necessary risks.

We have in the hall here tonight a picture of Kelly Postal, one of our trade union fighters, now serving a sentence in the Stillwater penitentiary in Minnesota. Kelly Postal was framed up by Tobin in the same fight in which we were framed up.

Day after day, week after week, the comrades do their duty, stand in their place in the ranks of the working class and carry forward their tasks regardless of risks. We have comrades who every day—rain, snow or shine—are on the streets and before the factory gates, distributing *The Militant*, distributing the *Fourth International*, running the mimeograph machine, getting out leaflets, advertising the meetings, keeping the party headquarters open and in order, doing office work, filling organization posts, performing the myriad tasks that go to make up the day-to-day life and activity of our party. Every one of these comrades is contributing to the cause. Every one of these comrades is a hero in the struggle of the working class.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONISTS

Only a few days ago we received word that one of our comrades in the armed forces is in a hospital with both his legs shot off. His is another sacrifice. But, significantly, and typical of a Trotskyist, he tells in his letters of his confidence in the future. He writes that he expects to get artificial legs, he expects to learn to walk on them, and he is looking forward to getting these new legs and getting out so that he can again serve the party and the cause to which we all have dedicated ourselves. Others of our comrades in the course of the war have lost their lives at sea in carrying out assignments in mass work. We are a party of professional revolutionists who put service to the party before all other considerations. We answer the

call of the party without reservation or qualification. That is the kind of party we have. That is the kind of people our party is made of. With that kind of party, no matter what persecutions are leveled against us by the capitalist class, no matter what obstacles they throw up in our road, we are going to march steadily ahead.

We are absolutely confident, comrades, not only that you will carry on without us while we are away; we are confident that we will make gains, that the party will go forward, grow in strength, penetrate more deeply into the ranks of the working class and move a certain distance closer to the ultimate goal. In a few months we shall be back with you again to take our places beside you to carry forward in the struggle for the victory of socialism. We have absolute confidence because we know that the future is ours.

SPEECH OF ALBERT GOLDMAN

Seven legal questions were raised in the petition which the attorneys filed before the U. S. Supreme Court asking it to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals affirming the conviction of the 18 Minneapolis defendants. I think that at least six of these legal questions not only justified but demanded that the Supreme Court grant a review, consider oral and written arguments and render its opinion.

I offer for the consideration of the layman only two of the legal questions raised by the defense, because in the case of these two questions no special legal training is required to decide whether or not the Supreme Court should at least have given the reasons why it affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals.

One section of the Smith "Gag" Act, under which the defendants were convicted, makes it unlawful "to advise, counsel, urge, or in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States." The Espionage Act of 1917 makes it unlawful "willfully to cause, or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United

States. . . ." Now I admit that the language is not exactly alike because the act under which we were convicted speaks of "advising and urging" insubordination, while the Espionage Act uses the expression "causing insubordination." Sensible people would agree, I think, that causing insubordination must necessarily involve in some way or other advising and urging. Even a totally dumb person would be compelled to find a method, if he wanted to cause insubordination, to communicate with others. He would then be "advising" and "urging." To all intents and purposes the two statutes are the same.

It was in interpreting the Espionage Act that the Supreme Court, in 1919, laid down the rule that, before anyone can be convicted for making oral or written statements, the government must prove that "a clear and present danger" exists, that these statements might actually result in creating insubordination in the armed forces. The government contended that this rule does not apply to that section of the Smith Act which is almost identical with the Espionage Act. I am not trying to convince you that the government is incorrect from a legal point of view. All that I assert is that the question is of such importance and the similarity of the two statutes is so great, that the Supreme Court was obligated to discuss it and present reasons for its decision.

Another important question involved in the case which can be readily understood without any special training is: What constitutes urging insubordination in the armed forces? This does not involve the question whether the government witnesses testified against us truthfully. For the sake of presenting the legal argument before the Supreme Court, we assume the truth of the government's evidence. The question is whether, as a matter of law, the facts as presented by the government constitute urging insubordination.

STUPID INVENTION

Some of the government witnesses testified that a few of the defendants told them that, if drafted, they should try to create dissension in the army by kicking about the food and bedding. This is obviously the invention of stupid people but we assume that it is true. Does this constitute a conspiracy to create insubordination in the army? Suppose it turned out that the food and bedding were excellent and there was nothing to kick about on that score? Suppose they were bad, would it be wrong to kick about them?

It was also shown by the government that the Socialist Workers

Party favors military training under the control of the trade unions and democracy in the military forces. Does that constitute urging insubordination?

A Supreme Court motivated purely by legal obligations would have considered at least the two questions that I have mentioned and would have presented reasons for its decision. It is possible to come to either one of two conclusions with reference to the failure of the Supreme Court to grant a review. It is possible to say that the Court considered all the legal questions raised by the attorneys for the defendants and decided not to grant a review because these questions were not sufficiently important or were already settled in some previous case. Such a conclusion is ruled out for the reason that the questions raised were novel ones, and most people will agree that they are important.

The other conclusion, and the correct one, is that the Supreme Court did not want to interfere with the conviction in this case and was not interested in discussing the legal questions that were raised. It is on this assumption that one can best explain the failure of the Court to grant a review. This was the simplest and easiest way out. It obviated the necessity of discussing the questions and presenting reasons for a decision, something that would have been embarrassing for those judges who claim to be liberal. When arguments are lacking to justify a reactionary decision, silence is the best policy, especially for those who pretend to be liberal.

WEAPON FOR REACTION

Everyone in the labor and progressive movement must clearly realize the implications of the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, which the Supreme Court has approved by virtue of its refusal to review it. It not only permits a viciously reactionary law, the Smith "Gag" Act, to remain on the statute books. It has strengthened that law by interpreting it in a manner which gives the widest possible scope for its use by prosecutors against anyone who stands for the right of workers to defend themselves against reactionary violence and who raises his voice on behalf of any democratic rights for men in the military service.

What more perfect weapon can a prosecutor expect than a statute so interpreted as to permit an indictment and conviction for any statement criticizing anything connected with the military regime? All that he need do is to frame an indictment in the words of the

statute. The method of choosing juries in the federal courts practically guarantees a conviction. What a paradise for a prosecutor aiming to convict revolutionists if no more is required to make a conviction stick than to introduce a copy of the "Communist Manifesto." The courts have opened wide the gates of the federal penitentiaries for victims of the Smith "Gag" Law to be driven in.

Whether or not the government will set the prosecutors in motion does not depend solely on the fact that a reactionary law has been interpreted in a reactionary manner, and that the conviction of eighteen Trotskyists has been affirmed. For the present the government may well be satisfied to have a powerful weapon at its disposal which can be used whenever it becomes necessary, not only against revolutionists but against any and all militant unionists and progressives.

The weapon may again be used when the European masses take their fate into their own hands and refuse to take orders from Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. It undoubtedly will be used when the workers of this country will become more militant in their demands to curb the war profiteers and will refuse to assume all the burdens of the war.

MOTIVES FOR THE CONVICTION

Undoubtedly it will be asked why the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the conviction. I explained why it chose the method of refusing to grant a review but that in itself does not explain why the judges decided to permit the conviction to stand.

Every individual having anything to do with the prosecution had his own particular reason for his desire to get us convicted. Tobin wanted to run the Minneapolis teamsters' union as he pleased without the interference of men who fought for honest, militant and democratic unionism. He asked his friend Roosevelt to do something for him. Our "great" and "democratic" President was more than willing to have us indicted and convicted in order to do his friend Tobin a favor. And once the machinery of what is called justice is set into motion, every individual connected with that capitalist justice is anxious to do his part faithfully and well.

It can also be asserted with a high degree of certainty that the desire of the Administration to curry favor with Stalin constituted a contributing factor in the Supreme Court's refusal to review the decision of the lower court. It is difficult to explain the different

attitude taken by the Supreme Court in the case of Schneiderman, a Stalinist, on any other hypothesis. For the Schneiderman case involved legal questions that are almost identical with some of the questions involved in our case.

Basically, however, the special and particular reasons motivating the various personalities connected with the prosecution play a minor role. To find the basic motives of Tobin and Roosevelt and prosecutors and judges one must look to the fundamental ideas which the defendants represent and in the activities which the defendants pursue for the realization of their ideas.

IMPRISONED FOR OUR IDEAS

Let me once more assure you that the charge of advocating violence to overthrow the government and the accusation of creating insubordination in the armed forces are only flimsy pretexts to confuse the backward and fool the gullible. In fact it is because we are opposed to a social order which condemns mankind to the physical violence of war and fascism and to the spiritual violence of poverty and ignorance that we have been sentenced to prison terms. They who boast about the number and quality of weapons produced to kill human beings by the thousands and tens of thousands, accuse us of advocating violence because, on the basis of an analysis of social forces and a study of history, we conclude that the ruling class will not yield its wealth and power without resorting to violence.

It is because we have been indicted, convicted, and are being sent to prison for holding and propagating advanced social ideas that the labor and liberal movements are obligated, in their own interests, to struggle for a pardon on our behalf and to erase the Smith "Gag" Act from the statute books. Too many liberals and labor leaders are so interested in supporting Roosevelt in what they consider to be a struggle against German fascism that they have forgotten that right here in this country men are being railroaded to jail because they are struggling for a new social order. Let those who want democracy to prevail and are indifferent to our case, beware. By their failure to struggle on our behalf they are helping to create a monster that will ultimately destroy them also.

Some people, I hope, have learned a lesson in this case. They have learned that no reliance can be placed in a so-called "liberal" Supreme Court to guard essential democratic rights. A "liberal" Supreme Court may interfere with a lower court to protect the right

of an unimportant and unpopular religious sect to distribute its literature. It has been shown in our case that it will not interfere with the jailing of people who seriously advocate a fundamental change in the social order.

In the last analysis, only a politically conscious working class will be able to guard the democratic rights of the people. The attention of all who are devoted to these rights must be centered on the masses, on educating them to the significance of our case as a violation of their rights. All of us can and must agree on one thing—that democracy is absolutely essential for the working class. It is essential for its struggle for better conditions under the present system. It is essential for its struggle for a new social order. It is essential for the building of the new social order.

To struggle for our pardon, for the appeal of the Smith "Gag" Act and for the nullification of the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals and of the Supreme Court is essentially a struggle for the democratic rights of the masses.

Full well do we know that the sacrifice which we are compelled to make by virtue of our imprisonment is nothing in comparison with the sacrifices which revolutionists of other lands and different times were forced and are still forced to suffer. We do not at all consider ourselves in the category of martyrs. We have done our bit in the cause of working-class emancipation. We go to prison confident that the struggle for our ideals and for the democratic rights of the American masses will continue. Upon our liberation we shall together with you continue the struggle for socialism which will bring freedom and equality to all mankind.

SPEECH OF FELIX MORROW

Just a few weeks ago, at the CIO convention, among the delegates and other union officials, I ran into quite a sprinkling of people who had been with me in the Young People's Socialist League. They were also, in the in-between years, ex-Communists, ex-Lovestonites, ex-SPers, an ex-Oehlente and an ex-Stammite. They were people

who had got tired of isolation and had decided to swim with the stream (so they think) and, incidentally, are getting very good pay for it. Now, having doffed their radicalism, they are persons of some weight in the trade unions (for this period). And they were all of the unanimous opinion that the Minneapolis defendants would never serve a day in jail.

One of them, who is now a member of Hillman's brain trust and, therefore, practically, he thinks, with a private pipe-line to the White House, took me into a dark corner and assured me, on the "highest authority," that the Minneapolis case was bottled up for the duration of the war in the Supreme Court and wouldn't get out of the court for the duration of the war, and after the war the Supreme Court would declare the Smith Act unconstitutional and finish the case. Another had it that the Supreme Court would avoid the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Act by freeing us on a technicality. Each had a different story, but the same happy ending for us.

WISHEFUL THINKING

Why these reassurances to us from people who are no friends of ours, but bitter enemies? In reality, they were reassuring themselves. They wanted to believe that the Minneapolis case had never gotten beyond the stage of being part of an inner-union fight between us and Tobin, in which Tobin "happened" to get some help from Washington. They wanted to believe that once that inner-union fight was over and the Minneapolis drivers had been driven back into Tobin's union, that then the government had no further interest in persecuting us. They wanted to believe that we were wrong when we said that Roosevelt's aid to Tobin was simply the immediate cause of the Minneapolis persecution, and that the basic cause is the government's attempt to crush the revolutionary vanguard and thereby behead the workers' movement before the workers begin to move again. They wanted to believe that we were wrong in saying that the government's object is to suppress and silence and drive into illegality the Marxist party of this country.

In short, these ex-radicals didn't want to face the fact that if the Supreme Court sent us to prison, they could no longer deny to themselves the basic class significance of the Minneapolis case. And by class significance I don't mean merely that it is a blow at free speech and trade union rights. It is, of course, such a blow, and

that is the basis on which every section of the labor movement is duty-bound to support us in our fight. But its class significance goes much deeper. This case has developed far beyond the original fight with Tobin. Those people at the CIO convention who said that the fight with Tobin was over and done with were perfectly right. Where they made their mistake was in drawing the conclusion that, therefore, Washington would let us go free.

It was not to help Tobin that the Supreme Court violated its own established precedents. It was no longer for Tobin that the Supreme Court took the unheard of step of refusing to hear the first case testing the constitutionality of a new law. What we predicted before the Minneapolis trial, in our Plenum Conference resolution of October 1941, has now been verified to the full. We predicted then, two years and three months ago, that though the immediate cause of the prosecution was our fight with Tobin, it would become clear that the basic cause was the attempt by the government to crush the Marxist movement. That prediction is now verified beyond refutation by the brazen action of the Supreme Court.

And beyond refutation too is the fundamental reason why the government is attempting to crush the revolutionary movement. That fundamental reason is that American imperialism, on the very eve of its military triumph over its imperialist competitors, fears that the fruits of that military victory will be nipped in the bud by the aftermath of the military battle—the class battles, the revolutionary wave in Europe and the awakening of the American working class.

CLASS MEANING OF DECISION

American imperialism fears that the future belongs to us. American imperialism fears that revolutionary future and it strikes out viciously against us.

That is the fundamental class meaning of the Supreme Court decision. That is the truth which could not be faced by those ex-radicals at the CIO convention who assured themselves that we were not going to prison.

The future belongs to us. Nevertheless, we know that between the present and that revolutionary future there still lies a period of great difficulties, of isolation, in which the ruling class, as the Supreme Court decision indicates, will in all probability aim still heavier blows against our movement than the imprisonment of the 18.

In that difficult period that still lies ahead of us, for those who will remain at the helm and in the ranks of the party, it will be a period of combining caution and daring, patience and heroism.

No one can predict in any detail how the party will have to work during that difficult period. What can be said, however, is what we said in that same resolution to which I have already referred, the resolution of the Plenum Conference of October 1941, which today deserves renewed study by the party. We outlined in that resolution the two-sided process whereby the party could withstand the blows of federal prosecution and go on to new gains.

One side of that process is to face outward to the masses. It has long been a well-understood axiom of the revolutionary movement that the way to resist persecution is to sink our roots deeper and deeper into the masses. Hence the resolution especially emphasized carrying our case into the trade unions, participation by the party in elections, a turn to political work in the factories, systematic recruiting into the party. Thus we would combat federal prosecution externally.

The second side of the process of combating persecution is internal. Here is how we put it in our resolution. I just want to read a few lines:

"An intensive campaign is required for the internal preparation of the party to withstand the blow of federal prosecution. The only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have a historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day to day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of persecution. The difference between a trade union militant and a politically educated Trotskyist is immeasurable; it is qualitative. The best of yesterday's trade union militants are today succumbing under the pressure of the war situation. Only those will survive who are not only rooted in the working-class movement but who have the Marxist outlook to see beyond the present difficulties to the new horizons."

Deeper into the mass movement, systematic education in Marxism for all party members—that is the process by which we will fight off the government's attack. And out of the ranks thus grounded in Marxism will come, I am confident, the forces to lead the party no matter what happens to us or even to the leadership which takes our place. Given new responsibilities, comrades hitherto unnoticed

will prove themselves worthy of leadership. Under the test of fire, new leaders, all that we will need, will come forward.

And with that certainty, easy in my heart, I take leave of you for a little while.



KARL KUEHN



AL RUSSELL



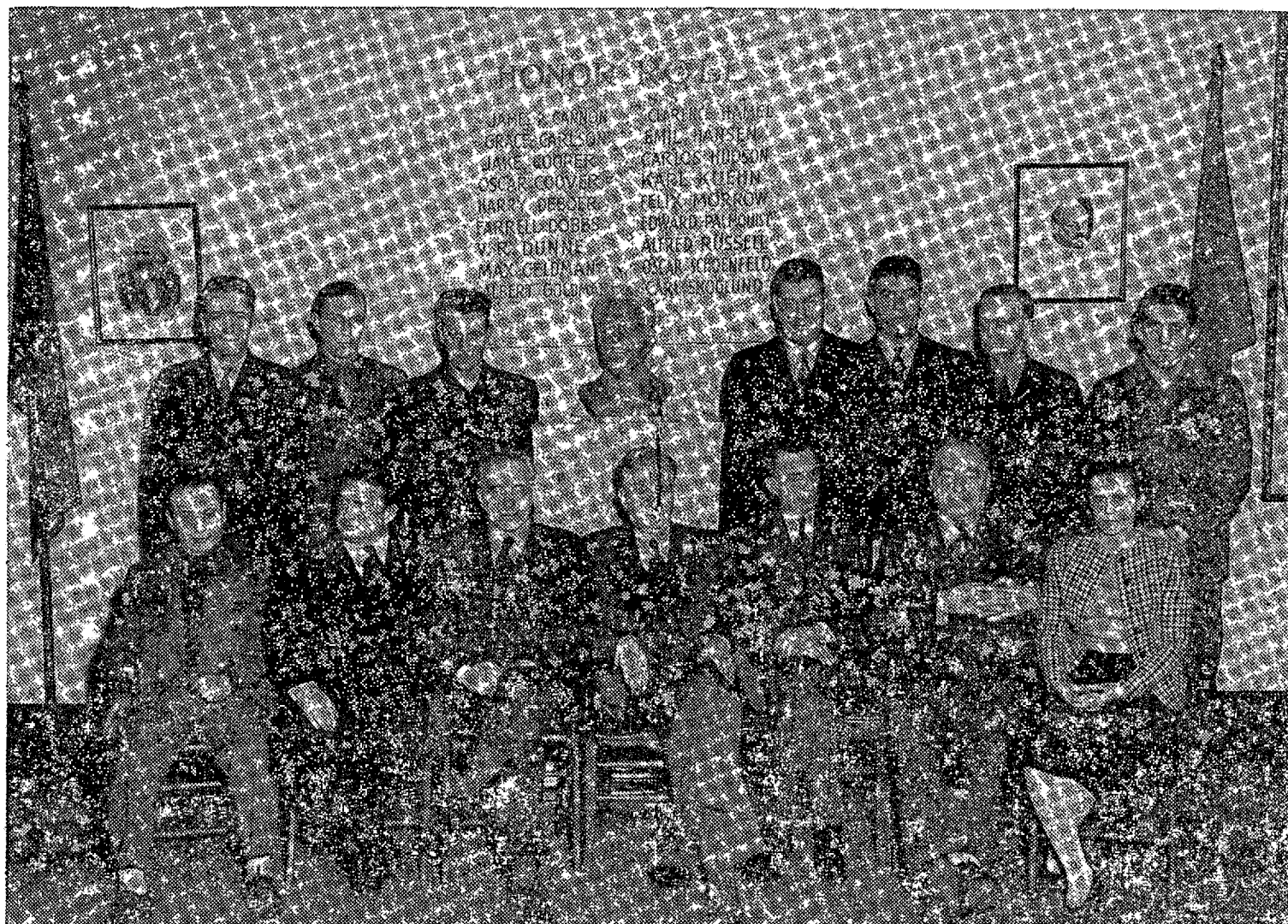
O. SCHOENFELD

SPEECH OF ALFRED RUSSELL

Comrades and friends: I want to assure all the comrades that this will not be my last message. As George indicated, this isn't the first time for me, and I consequently am no longer as virginal as some of the other comrades.

I hesitate to speak at any length on this occasion because of what Comrade Morrow and Comrade Schoenfeld have already said, and because of the speeches that are to come. I assure the comrades that my only impatience in the year that I have to spend in jail will be because I want to be back in the fight. I know that the comrades on the outside are going to have a much tougher time than we are. I know from experience with the jails, I know that there is nothing that they can do to us that we can't take. We will be in there pitching. I know that all the comrades on the outside will be too.

I say, long live our party and long live the fight for socialism!



Fourteen of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders are pictured together at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 919 Marquette Ave., Minneapolis, where they gathered before going to jail. Standing (left to right): Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Ed Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting (left to right): Max Goldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson.

SPEECH OF KARL KUEHN

I believe that I understood fairly well the general strategy and tactics pursued by our leadership in the planning of the defense and I think it is going just the way it was planned. I concurred from the beginning and I still continue to concur. I look upon this as a milestone, not only for the revolutionary movement, but in the broad class struggle itself.

You know, here sit the higher law enforcement officers—the ones who are enforcing the law that stands way above any capitalist statutes written on the books. They are enforcing the first law of nature, the law of self-preservation, for the working class. And that is why we are on the winning side from the very start, no matter what we may have to go through.

Those that are honest will be compelled to come to our side and join the struggle. And I know, I am satisfied, that we will speed the day when capitalism will give way to the new socialist era of unparalleled, undreamed-of social advances.

SPEECH OF OSCAR SCHOENFELD

I want particularly tonight to draw attention to one aspect of our case to which perhaps some comrades have not paid sufficient attention. And that is the attitude of both the comrades involved in this case and the party along with them, an attitude completely free from both hysteria and tears. I for my part have been very glad to observe this because I know that both hysteria and tears, both hysteria and undue sentimentalities are but the different sides of the same coin, a coin whose principal ingredients are a lack of mental and physical preparations for the inevitable persecutions of the proletarian revolutionists by the capitalist class.

Our attitude has been determined by the deep-seated knowledge that such violence on the part of the master class is precisely what the vanguard of the working class must expect from those who see

and fear us as the inevitable leaders of the movement which will deprive them of their right to oppress and exploit the masses of the earth. That is why we are prepared, prepared not only in the sense that the party has capable and experienced leaders to take the place of those who go, but also prepared as individuals to spend whatever time may be necessary in the capitalist prisons, prepared to use that time advantageously, as advantageously as possible, and come out better equipped to rejoin our comrades in our great task.

We who are going are more fortunate than many of our International comrades rotting away in the fascist concentration camps and the Stalinist jails. Our sentences are relatively small.

Speaking for myself now, my main feeling is one of impatience to be back with the comrades. The great movement of the working class in conflict with the bosses has already started, and our great party, with deep roots in that working class, prepares itself now for its historic mission of leading the American proletariat. I don't want to miss any of this. With this confidence in our party and understanding of our tasks, the time spent in prison won't be very long. We shall come back as stronger individuals to a bigger and better party, ready once again to take our place on the firing line.

THE MINNEAPOLIS BANQUET

Miles Dunne, president of Motor Transport Workers Local 544 CIO, and brother of Vincent R. Dunne, acted as toastmaster at the farewell banquet given in honor of the 18 convicted leaders of the SWP and Motor Transport Workers Union, in Minneapolis on Dec. 28, 1943.

Sketching the background of the case, Miles Dunne, who was himself acquitted on a frame-up charge in 1941, showed that the imprisonment of the 18 under the Smith "Gag" Act constituted a great blow to the whole labor movement. "There will be other cases and other victims," he warned, "unless the reactionary law under which the 18 were convicted is repealed through the organized pressure of the labor movement."

Miles Dunne then introduced each of the defendants present at the banquet.

SPEECH OF V. R. DUNNE

"Most of us who are going away to prison have been long time members of the revolutionary movement, and we are especially proud to be the followers of one of the greatest working-class leaders the world has ever produced, E. D. Trotsky."

Dunne then emphasized the fact that if the program of Lenin and Trotsky, which has succeeded in taking power away from the capitalists and landlords of Russia, had been followed by working-class leaders of other countries, there would not have been a Second World War.

"We are being railroaded to jail," concluded Dunne, "because the American capitalist rulers want to demoralize and terrorize workers who will come to believe as we do now, that only the program of Lenin and Trotsky will lead them out of this blind maze of capitalist anarchy."

SPEECH OF GRACE CARLSON

"It might seem that in the midst of world-wide slaughter on a scale that the world has never before seen, the fate of 18 people is relatively unimportant. But the 18 represent the future socialist society which will inevitably replace the decadent capitalist system."

"The spirit in which we Trotskyists have lived and worked is one of absolute conviction that one day in the not too distant future the workers of the world, many of whom have been imprisoned and have died for revolutionary ideas, will replace this rotten system which breeds war and fascism with an international society of free and equal."

SPEECH OF JAKE COOPER

"This is a real occasion and one that I shall never forget. Look at the friends we have here tonight, the dinner we have had here tonight, the way it has been served. This is my idea of the way people should live. Fighting humanity can march forward and the people can have the best of all things that this world has to offer. When we come back we aim to fight for this very thing. This is the kind of a world I want to fight for."

SPEECH OF OSCAR COOVER

"Since the rejection by the Supreme Court of the right of our people to have a review of the constitutionality of the Smith Law, I have found very few people who have not felt that our party was going forward. Eighteen of our party leaders are going away, but I am confident tonight that when we come back our party will be a better one than it is now."

SPEECH OF HARRY DeBOER

"They are sending us to jail for our ideas and opinions. I think this is the best time and place for me to say that the time we spend in jail will not change our opinions as they did not change those of our great leader, Leon Trotsky."

Clarence Hamel and Ed Palmquist briefly gave thanks to all their friends and fellow-workers for their solidarity and support. A similar sentiment was expressed by Emil Hansen.

SPEECH OF MAX GEEDMAN

"This world is now not fit for human beings to live in and it is necessary to build a new and better society. We are convicted of conspiracy, even though we openly publish our views, sell our papers and pamphlets, hold public meetings, and try in these and all other possible ways to disseminate our program. The real conspirators in the world today are Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and the other bigwigs who meet behind closed doors, and never tell the people what they discuss and decide.

"There will be other trials and then these culprits will be put on trial. I hope to work with the majority of the people and with my comrades against this real conspiracy."

SPEECH OF CARL SKOGLUND

The veteran Carl Skoglund predicted that "although the workers may delay doing away with capitalism for one, two, three or fifty years, in the end a socialist form of society must be established. If the workers do not establish a socialist society within a comparatively short time this country and the whole world will be ruled by fascism. I can guarantee you that we are not the last ones that will go to prison for their political opinions. Many of the best thinkers in the past have gone but I hope that such sacrifices will be reduced to a minimum and that the working class will come to understand and to prevent them."

SPEECH OF ROSE KARSNER

On Behalf of the Wives and Relatives of the Prisoners

Comrades: When I have to speak to a group that is larger than ten people I am petrified and all my thoughts seem to vanish into thin air. But tonight I feel different. Tonight, I asked for the privilege of speaking. Because tonight, I feel, we are writing history, and in that chapter which will describe the case of the 18, there will be one page which will deal with what we say and do tonight. That page would not be complete unless a representative of the wives of these men and their families were to speak here. That is why I am not afraid to face you all tonight and speak freely.

Comrade Dobbs told you about the solid front the 28 presented in the courtroom during the trial; how wonderful it was, and how everybody was astounded when there was not the slightest suggestion of a break in the line. It was marvelous. I was there and I saw it and was inspired by it. But there is a story behind that. All of these men have wives. Most of them are in the movement, and even those who are not have stood by them through the years because they agree with them and understand what they are fighting for. Not only have they never stood in the way, on the contrary, they have been companions to their husbands and ready to see them go when the needs of the movement made it necessary. No complaints. No whining.

Tonight we are gathered here, not to jubilate or to mourn. We are gathered here to demonstrate and to proclaim—to demonstrate our solidarity with these men and to proclaim our intention to continue the fight where they leave off.

I want to say in behalf of myself, and the wives, and relatives and children who are sitting here, as well as the wives who are in Minneapolis, every one of whom I have met and know I can speak for—I want to say to you that we will miss you. We will miss you terribly. But we will not be alone in missing you. We will miss you, but we will not sit about and mourn. We will not mope. We will carry on. We will be more active in the movement than ever before and we will continue in this work until you return.

We know what you are going to prison for. We, too, believe in what you are fighting for. And tomorrow, if it is our turn, we will go as resolutely as you do today. Now we want to say goodbye to you here—publicly. Goodbye!

SPEECH OF GEORGE GRANT

*On Behalf of the New York Organization of the
Socialist Workers Party*

Comrade Chairman, Comrades, Friends: I have the honor to express what is beating in the hearts of the New York membership tonight—as we bid a fond temporary farewell to our 18 class-war prisoners who are the first socialist soldiers in the United States to be sent to the American bosses' guardhouse for their intransigent struggle against the second imperialist World War.

EXAMPLE OF DEBS

Comrade Trotsky taught us that we are soldiers of the proletarian revolution and that war is the acid test for a social regime, a party and men. In the first imperialist World War the greatest American proletarian fighter was Eugene V. Debs. Debs had many accomplishments in the class struggle and as a socialist fighter, but the one thing that has indelibly engraved his name on the international working-class roll of honor was his fearless and intransigent opposition to the first imperialist World War. His incorruptibility, his continued defiance of the government and the bosses in the face of prosecution and imprisonment, served to arouse the American workers to a high pitch of proletarian solidarity. Even behind prison bars, Debs became the rallying point for all the class-conscious workers in the United States. This was clearly demonstrated by the tremendous vote he received when he ran for president while still in jail. So, in this second imperialist World War, our 18 comrades, like Debs, have demonstrated to the world and the world-working class that they are incorruptible. They cannot be bribed or bullied or browbeaten by the capitalist enemies or their Stalinist agents. Their names will be engraved along with Debs, but their names go over and beyond Debs because they not only demonstrated their intransigence against imperialist war, but standing on the shoulders of Lenin, the Russian revolution, Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the Fourth International, they have built a party, a revolutionary Marxist party.

We Trotskyists can go before the American workers and say with justifiable pride, these are our Trotskyist leaders. These are the kind of men that Trotskyism produces, proletarian leaders who will never wilt in the heat of struggle, who will never betray you

who will lead you victoriously, and who are always, unlike others, in the very front lines of the struggle.

Our party has been immeasurably enriched by the programmatic and organizational teachings which this leadership has instilled in us. They have taught us how to defend Marxism against the class enemy.

They have taught us how to defend the doctrines of Marxism against all those who want to adulterate it and revise it. And now our party is doubly enriched. We not only have their programmatic and organizational teachings, but now we have their example in the terrible crucible of war, the acid test for parties and for men. When a worker asks us what is a Bolshevik, we don't have to depend on verbal descriptions alone. We can point to living examples—our 18 comrades. These 18 are living Bolsheviks.

I call to mind that in 1934, when the bosses and the state moved to break the Minneapolis strike, they took the union leaders of Local 544 and threw them into a stockade. A second leadership jumped to their places and continued the struggle to victory.

Our party is a proletarian combat party. All our discussions, all our theory, all our programs and resolutions are preparations for the field of battle. We are training ourselves for active duty in the class struggle and the class struggle demands the highest in fighting efficiency, stamina and courage. Every soldier knows the risks involved on the field of battle but he takes his chances. Every soldier knows that he goes into combat not only to receive blows, but to deliver blows. A soldier who is either captured or wounded by the enemy in the battle is not a martyr but merely temporarily out of combat service.

SOLDIERS OF SOCIALISM

Our 18 comrades are not unconscious victims of the class struggle, but are conscious soldiers temporarily put out of active combat service in the course of battle. They are making what we consider, as proletarian revolutionists, the greatest sacrifice that can be made—to be taken involuntarily out of the class struggle. But they know that during their absence we will continue the fight and when they return they will join with us in the battle.

Our 18 comrades need no elaborate pledges from us. They know our loyalty. They know our devotion. They know that we are not half-way people, that our lives have no meaning except as a contri-

bution to the proletarian revolution. They know our Trotskyist party has the most powerful weapon ever devised, the Bolshevik program and the Bolshevik method of organization. They know that our ideas and our cadres are indestructible. We pledge to fight for their freedom, but more than that, we pledge that they will return to find us holding high and unblemished the Trotskyist banner they are handing us.

HOW THE TROTSKYISTS WENT TO JAIL

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The Socialist Workers Party is the only party in this country which has maintained the socialist anti-war position and held to its opposition to the war under fire. The Trotskyists were penalized for their courageous stand. The capitalist courts took revenge upon 18 individuals for daring to hold aloft the banner of socialism in wartime. But not one took back a single word. What kind of people are these whom the Roosevelt regime wishes behind bars? What stuff are Trotskyists made of that so many of them can meet severest tests without buckling? I had opportunity to observe them the last days before they entered prison. Perhaps a few sketches of them during those days will help to answer these questions.

James P. Cannon has long been recognized as the leading representative of American Trotskyism. When I came to his home in New York on Tuesday afternoon, December 28, 1943, to accompany him on the trip to prison, he was relaxed in his workshop, quietly smoking a cigar. He greeted me affably, invited me to make myself at home while he waited for his granddaughter Lorna—he calls her "Mickie"—to finish her nap so that she might accompany "Gramp" to the station.

I glanced about Jim's lean, efficient workshop where he prepares his speeches and articles. Beside the desk and a few chairs, the only furnishings are shelves of Marxist classics. The walls border on austerity—only two pictures in the entire room, one of Trotsky, the other of Carlo Tresca.

Jim took out his gold watch to check the time. So steeped is Jim in the movement that everything about him brings to mind some phase of party life. That gold watch was a present from comrades of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, the *Webster's New International Dictionary* near his elbow a present from a class

he taught on the history of Trotskyism: even his cigar was a present from sea-going Trotskyists.

Rose, his wife, typed busily, bringing up to date the scoreboard of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party in their drive to collect \$15,000 in celebration of the 15th anniversary of American Trotskyism. Gray hair framing dark eyes, Rose looked beautiful behind Jim's desk. The wrist watch comrades gave her when they presented Jim with his watch flashed in the sunlight. Only two nights before, Rose had stood up at the farewell banquet in New York to speak for the wives of the defendants and the Trotskyist women of the party. It was hard to see the men go, she had said with simplicity, but there would be no moping. The women would carry on.

FAMILY FAREWELL

Leavetakings can be embarrassing to an outsider for he does not know the intimate things and cannot share in them. He is not directly linked to the emotional threads drawn taut. Jim's two-year-old granddaughter, whom Walta now brought in, kept the sentiment in this farewell from distressing anyone. As Walta, Rose's daughter, stuffed Mickie's arms into her snow suit, Jim kept up a running conversation with the youngster, smiling at her like a wise old grandfather.

"Bam going calaboose," responded Mickie, "I go too." Hearing her use the word "calaboose," it wouldn't surprise me if she could already sing some of the old I.W.W. songs Jim knows so well. As Jim took a few more moments to laugh with Mickie over their secret understanding, it was difficult to hold steadily in one's mind the fact that soon he would be on the train, soon in Minneapolis, soon in prison.

At Grand Central Station Rose said goodbye. In my mind, as I watched her, came the image of Natalia Trotsky, the great woman hero of the Marxist movement.

As for little Mickie, faithfully carrying out her part of the deal, she gave everybody a laugh holding out her arms to go with Gramp to the calaboose.

We had taken a compartment on the Commodore Vanderbilt to Chicago, for Jim still had some editorial work to complete on the manuscript of his book that is to be published this spring, *The History of American Trotskyism*, and did not want to be disturbed. But Jim was still unsettled from his leavetaking. He watched the unsavory tenements of Harlem move bleakly past the train window—

that monstrous ghetto where capitalism forces the Negro people of New York to live in segregation. The lines in Jim's face grew deep and grave. I thought him sad at leaving his family, sad at all the things Harlem brought to mind. Socialism will leave not one stone upon another where slum tenements now mar America. The road to achieving that great social gain, however, is not an easy one. Jim was on his way to prison now, precisely because of his fight for such an alternative to the imperialist war.

Jim likes to speak about the great future facing mankind once the economic system has been organized upon rational lines that will eliminate poverty and war. In 1938 when they came to visit Trotsky, I listened to him and Vincent R. Dunne in the patio of a hotel at Cuernavaca after dinner, talking about the future. Under socialism, they said, the enemy will not be our fellow human beings, but the enemy of all human beings, *disease*. All the energy that now goes into such destructive waste as imperialist war will go into a socialist war against disease. The campaign will be organized on a world scale with unlimited funds at the disposal of the earth's scientists and laboratories. The headlines in the press will not boast that so many thousand tons of bombs have been dumped on men, women and children, but will announce such things as really free the world of fear: *Rheumatic Fever Surrenders to New Cure, Infantile Paralysis Stamped Out, CANCER CONQUERED*.

THE SOCIALIST FUTURE

What of death itself? If the Socialist Administration of the United States or the World were to appropriate an amount equal say to what the former capitalist Congress poured into imperialist war, could life expectancy be extended scores of years?

People will follow professions not out of economic compulsion but out of their own desire, for the economic system unshackled from capitalist fetters will produce goods in such undreamed-of abundance as virtually to free everyone from the daily grind that holds us down today. How joyous it will be to live under socialism! You want to delve into the mysteries of the atom? Good. Society needs new sources of power to further free us from drudgery. You want to become an astronomer? Good. The heavens are virtually unexplored. We need intelligent men ambitious to extend our knowledge in that field. Who knows what they will find about the origin of the universe, its limits and its end? Under socialism art will really

flower in full beauty and creativeness for the first time. And then the highest art of all will come into its own, the art of loving one's fellow man.

That evening in Mexico was memorable. Barefoot campesinos trudging over the cobblestones with towering burdens of pottery on their backs like draft animals. . . Vincent and Jim discussing the great ideals which have kept them organizing for socialism nearly 40 years. . .

As the crack train gathered speed along the banks of the river, the man soon to be locked in a cell because of his beliefs leaned back in his seat watching the barren trees and the ice-fringed water skim by. The pillars of a famous geologic formation moved in stately procession into the past—scenes of the Hudson warmed by the winter sun for this socialist fighter to remember in the hard days ahead. The sun fell on his hair as the train leaned around a curve and the iron gray waves lighted up luminously. Jim's lips moved, "The Palisades are beautiful."

CANNON'S YOUTH

A few questions led Jim to speak about his youth. He was born near the geographical center of the United States, in Rosedale, Kansas. The somber rural middle west of the nineties was the background of his childhood. For all practical purposes, his formal education ceased at the age of twelve. Only "bitter will" drove him to educate himself. He carried a grocer's notebook in which he jotted down the words he stumbled across in books. He memorized and tried to use in conversation these fascinating new words despite the raillery of his companions, who like many country boys considered education so far beyond the reach of their station in life that whoever exhibited ambition in that direction was in their eyes a little touched. Undoubtedly Jim misused many words; for years he experienced embarrassment unlearning the Kansas pronunciation he had assigned to them; but no matter, defying all obstacles, by sheer main force he muscled through.

Having finished formal schools at the age of 12, he went to work 60 hours a week for the Swift Packing Company. His next job was in the railroad yards at the age of 14; 70 hours a week. Once a month he was entitled to a whole day off for relaxation. When he spoke at the farewell banquet about the "pathetic pleasures" of those who have not yet gained the emancipating vision of socialism, Jim

said he had that boy of Rosedale, Kansas, in mind trying to have fun on his day off.

Jim brought out his pipe and lit it. Through the smoke that drifted along the window, Jim's eyes remained on the scenery rushing by. Space and time were perishing under the train wheels, as the Commodore rushed this stiff-necked man to the penitentiary. "Tell me about your father," I asked.

Although now well in his eighties, responded Jim, old Cannon still stands by his son and follows everything that happens to him. When Jim began organizing for the IWW, his father hungered for every word about his successes, his speeches and debates. "Some of the boys knew this," Jim went on, "and on their way through town they'd stop off to see my father and let him know about me." He smiled, "I guess they used to lay it on a bit more than I really deserved; but my father was always proud of me." The interest of Jim's father is understandable. He was a socialist himself as early as 1901. In England where the Irish Land League had ramifications he was a member of the Boulton Local. The Irish revolutionist Robert Emmett was his hero; Emmett, martyred by the British, who said, "Don't write my epitaph until Ireland is freed." As a boy Jim memorized an entire speech of Robert Emmett's; could recite it word for word.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

As he smoked his pipe he answered another question of mine about the persecution of socialists in the First World War, telling me his experience in Rosedale. Despite his becoming an advocate of the rights of labor and even a member of the IWW and Socialist Party, the town elders still considered him destined for Congress. "Probably they were right. I might have ended up these past decades in Congress if I hadn't become convinced that the only fight worthwhile is the fight for socialism."

"The crucial turning point was my attitude on the war. In those days the socialist movement hadn't arrived at the correct approach to this question. We thought that the way out, in our uncertainty, was to become conscientious objectors. Now we know, of course, that it is wrong to separate yourself from your generation; you should go with them into the armed forces. When I came up before the board to register for the draft, one of the venerable town elders tried to counsel me, to advise me, not to get into trouble, to go along, but

when he asked me what to put down, I said, 'Conscientious objector.'

'Why?' he asked me.

'I don't believe in the war.'

'The others didn't think they had heard right. What did he say?' one of them asked.

'He doesn't believe in the war.'

'I'll never forget the way he said that, without lifting or turning his head. He felt very bad that I would do such a thing.'

POVERTY AND PERSECUTION

'From then on I was a pariah in my own home town. No work. Complete isolation. They came and took away my wife's kitchen cabinet. You don't know what that means—but in Rosedale it was a terrible blow. My little boy held on to the man's legs, biting him like a little dog because they were taking away his mother's kitchen cabinet. They took away our phonograph records. I'll never forget how my little boy went around cranking his arm and hand, pretending he was playing a phonograph record. The whole world seemed against us.

'Finally we had nothing to go with our mush, except a quart of milk a day. The milkman took pity on us week after week, leaving a bottle each morning without asking for money. Maybe he sympathized a little. Finally one bitter day I went out to get the milk and it wasn't there, just the empty bottle I had put out. Tom Hampton hadn't left the milk that morning. He wasn't going to leave any more without money. I had two babies and a wife waiting inside the house. I just sat down on the step and held that empty bottle in my hands.

'I know what the most desperate poverty means. I've had to stuff my books in the stove to keep my family from freezing to death.'

Now for the second time she was being hounded and persecuted for his opposition to imperialist war. He didn't believe Wilson that the First World War would make the world safe for democracy; he didn't believe Roosevelt that the Second World War will bring 'four freedoms' to our planet.

I was reminded of an incident. Several years ago at a New York banquet for Angelica Balabanova, old John Dewey, relating how he came to serve on the Commission of Inquiry that exposed the falsity of the Moscow Trials, said to Max Eastman in the presence of Cannon, 'This is the man who got me to serve on the Commission. He appealed to my better nature.'

Eastman, who long ago gave up the fight for socialism, responded ironically, looking at Cannon: 'He's appealed to the better nature of a lot of people.'

I recalled the incident to Jim. 'How did you get an eminent person like John Dewey to serve on that Commission?'

Stalin was flooding the world with monstrous lies, Jim explained: murdering tens of thousands of Trotskyists and others under pretense they were spies and traitors. The sole 'crime' of the Trotskyists was to be in political opposition to the regime which had usurped power. Trotsky, for instance, was guilty of nothing but wanting to defend the Soviet Union in accordance with the ideas of Lenin. Stalin had even succeeded through his machinations with the Norwegian government in preventing Trotsky from explaining to the world press what was happening in these purge trials. It was necessary to give Trotsky a hearing so that people who believed in truth could decide whether he was guilty of the charges or not. Several people had already gone to Dewey to ask him to serve on the Commission but he had refused. His family didn't want him to go to Mexico, for he was more than 80 years old.

THE DEWEY COMMISSION

'I went to him and told him what the situation was,' Jim smiled warmly at the memory. 'I told him he must do something for justice. I wouldn't let him go until he agreed to do something for justice. That was how he came to serve on the Commission. That was how Trotsky was given the opportunity to prove his innocence before the whole world, to prove that he was the best defender of the Soviet Union.'

Jim continued: 'But even John Dewey was not wholly impartial. As a judge it would have served the cause of justice to simply announce the verdict of not guilty, without injecting his own personal views on politics. He took advantage of the occasion to attack the theory of socialism; in that he departed from strict morality. When the history of this epoch is written, when they excavate through this geologic stratum of lies as Natalia Trotsky expressed it, they'll discover that the only really moral people were the Trotskyists.'

'As for the judges on the Supreme Court who are supposed to be such liberals and such moralists, they are not even as moral as Pontius Pilate. They refused even to hear the case. Pontius Pilate at least asked, 'What is truth?''

EARLY STRUGGLES

As evening reddened the sky, Jim turned to the editorial work on his book *The History of American Trotskyism*. Many things stirred his memory as he went through the manuscript. He broke off occasionally to talk about the hard days in the early Trotskyist movement, how the Minneapolis comrades held him up when the going became bitter beyond endurance. He mentioned earlier things which he projects for his autobiography. The men he knew in the IWW, Frank Little who was murdered by a mob at Butte, Montana, during the persecution of labor militants in World War I. Jim was in two strikes with Frank Little, one at Peoria, Illinois, the other at the ore docks in Duluth, Minnesota. He was a close friend of James Larkin, the Irish revolutionist. Vincent St. John, great organizer of the IWW, came within an ace of joining his pupil Cannon in organizing for the Communist movement after the October revolution.

We changed trains at Chicago, leaving the sprawling smoke which clothed that city for the sunlit flat lands of Illinois. We now rode a bit closer to the blinds; that is, in a coach jammed with the traffic of war, soldiers and sailors on furlough, workers, women and children. Jim enjoyed the democratic atmosphere. He began humming. "What song is that?" I asked.

"Haven't you ever heard it? It's one of Joe Hill's best." Joe Hill was the IWW poet who came from Sweden to put the thoughts and emotions of the militant American working men to music. The victim of a frameup, he was shot at Utah state prison in 1915, but his songs are imperishable in the labor movement.

"Shall I sing you the words?" offered Jim. Then and there he presented me with Joe Hill's famous ballad about "Overalls and Snuff." The words seemed singularly appropriate in view of the labor crisis on the railroads, for the song tells about the railroad strikers of an earlier day who sang, "We'll build no more damn railroads just for overalls and snuff."

The Hiawatha sped out into Wisconsin. Patches of bare trees held stiff fingers up to the winter sun. Jim talked about Mickie's goodbye. "I'm going to miss her. Oh how I'm going to miss that little tyke. Bam going calaboose; I go too!" He chuckled at Mickie—this man who had come out of the iron school of the IWW and the early Communist Party. "Some of us may never live to see the Socialist

society. But she will. She'll see in real life what we've been fighting for as an ideal."

When the Hiawatha pulled into Minneapolis after dark, Carl Skoglund and Oscar Coover took us to a hotel. During the hours that followed I saw a side of Jim that was completely new to me. In New York he is cosmopolitan, a politician of the working class dealing in world problems. The capitol of the warring powers lie before him like a chess board as he follows the diplomatic moves, the maneuvers, calculates the next probable stage of development in the international class struggle. Now as his old friends and comrades-in-arms came to welcome him—even though it be welcome to prison—he seemed the small town boy reporting back to the family how things are in the metropolis. Here his past cropped up in a new form. These men all know *Rosedale* although they may never have been there. Jim speaks their language as they want it spoken. Jim is the home town boy who went out to champion their historic interests. What he accomplishes they also accomplish. They held him up when the going was tough, sent him support and encouragement; he is their ambassador in the court of world politics.

MINNEAPOLIS HUMOR

And so, because wit is a handy material with which to build a fence around such intimate friendships, wit encircled Jim. I think that is why Jim is so appreciative of Minneapolis humor—not because it is peculiar to Minneapolis, but because it is the humor of the America Jim loves, concentrated on him for the good of his soul. That is why, for instance, he likes to tell the story about Bill Brown and Miles Dunne when the National Guard entered Minneapolis to break the July 1934 strike. As the uniformed "apple-knockers" nervously marched Cannon and Shachtman away in a circle of bayonets, Bill and Miles leaned out of the court house window overhead, holding their sides in laughter at this rare comedy. "Anything for a laugh in Minneapolis," Jim says reminiscently.

The Minneapolis comrades undoubtedly would have felt keenly disappointed if their leader were forced to serve his term in a separate prison; they covered up their appreciation of his presence by ribbing him for ever having come to Minneapolis in the first place. "You see where it got you to come to Minneapolis and open your mouth?"

During the evening, walking along the dark streets of Minne-

apolis toward a restaurant, I became better acquainted with Carl Skoglund, Long an outstanding figure of the Northwest labor movement. Skoglund represents the revolutionary tendency in the Scandinavian flavoring of Minnesota politics. Born in Sweden on an ancient feudal estate, his serf ancestors had been bound to the soil as far back as records extend. Capitalism penetrated into this area with saw mills and other enterprises when Carl was still a boy. Overnight, youths changed from serfs into proletarians.

CARL SKOGLUND'S LIFE

The conflict with the older Lutheran generation became peculiarly sharp. As against devout belief in witchcraft, charms and the catechism, these youths were confronted by the ultra-modern scientific doctrines of Karl Marx. The feudal home broke up. At the age of 15 Carl scandalized the locality by refusing to go through with confirmation in the Lutheran church.

The 1905 revolution in Russia and the consequent upsurge in Norway had a powerful influence upon him. His older brother, already a socialist, talked to him of the coming classless society. In 1911 he came to the "land of freedom." Working on the railroad, he met Oscar Coover. "We hardly worked," said Carl, "we had such good arguments about socialism."

But the freedom Carl sought in America was apparently somewhat exaggerated in the steamship company advertisements. Because he played a prominent part in building the labor movement of the Northwest, Roosevelt's regime decided to imprison him. Still worse they insulted him. . . . were he to stand on the side of Tobin's stool pigeons in the trial . . . things might go easier for him.

He faces 16 months in prison. When he gets out, he does not know his fate—perhaps deportation to Sweden, a country which has become completely alien to him in the 30 odd years since he left there. Thus two ages as well as two continents are blended in this union man. He was born into the last remnants of feudal economy; in his maturity he is pursued by capitalism in its death agony.

As Carl told these things to me, he interrupted himself continually to point out where the 1934 strikers had their headquarters, how they had a picket line here, how the employers had trembled there across the street in their exclusive club. He talked about Cannon's role in gaining the victory, adding: "You know, right in the thick of it, when the police and the National Guard and everybody was

after us, what he tried to do? He tried to make us international-minded. He warned us not to be provincial." He laughed. "Yes, not to be provincial."

"As for me," he continued, "I am of the working class and that class I'm going to stick with. I'm going to fight the class that's trying to cut us down."

Thursday revolved about the Minneapolis branch headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. From morning until evening friends milled in and out with last greetings and expressions of solidarity for the defendants. Memories were awakened. Harry DeBoer and Emil Hansen, cutting each other down in pinochle, interwove the main theme of their conversation with references to the many activities of the Teamsters Union, the strikes, picket lines, negotiations, the dangers encountered and the victories that had been won.

Oscar Coover, watching the fall of cards, chipped in with this or that correction as to fact, sucking on his pipe, reminding them of characters in the labor movement, incidents worthy of repetition.

I told the comrades about Mexico; what respect Trotsky and Natalia had for Emil when he was a guard there.

REMINISCENCES OF THE 18

Max Geldman, father of a baby boy, born Christmas morning, spent little time acting the proud father. He was busy describing his previous incarceration at Sandstone for union activity, preparing his comrades for the first difficult days.

Karl Kuehn, Oscar Schopenfeld and Al Russell, the three sent to Danbury, were present in spirit. Again and again their names came up in reminiscences of their roles in the great drive to organize the Northwest into one of the most union-conscious areas of the nation.

Jake Cooper told about the assault on Leon Trotsky's house in May 1940. How Stalin's assassins fiddled L. D.'s and Natalia's bedroom with machine-gun slugs. Justice has not yet caught up with Siqueiros, the Stalinist leader of that assault. He is free to work on fresh jobs for the GPU. But Jake Cooper, who tried to defend the Old Man and his wife, is being sent to prison.

Grace Carlson described how as a child in a strict Catholic family she had been taught to regard a socialist uncle as beyond the pale. However, he had given her books about Eugene V. Debs when she was nine or ten years old, and she had read them. Now tenderly saying goodbye, proud of the fight she was making in the

tradition of Debs; he had reminded her of that fact: "I never thought then your reading those books would come to this."

Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman arrived. Comrades eddied about them, saying "hello and goodbye." Goldman had stopped in Chicago to address a mass meeting protesting the imprisonment of the 18. With a cup of coffee in his hand from the spotless commissary of the Minneapolis headquarters he described the indignation of the advanced Chicago workers over the frameup. Some of the Minneapolis humorists ribbed Morrow about incidents when he was there a few years ago. Felix laughed goodhumoredly.

Farrell Dobbs, who had come a few days earlier to visit his father and mother and the youngest of his three daughters, talked with Ed Palmquist, Clarence Hamel and the others about the great days when they drove forward to make the Teamsters Union one of the most powerful in the nation. "They are *men*," he told me as we sat in the headquarters, "every inch of them."

Farrell Dobbs was a name to conjure with in the drive to organize the Teamsters. He could have reached a high place in the circle surrounding Tobin. Yet he spurned that career since it would have meant supporting Roosevelt's regime and imperialist war. He chose instead to fight for socialism. That is why Tobin and Roosevelt decided to railroad him to prison.

LETTER TO KELLY POSTAL

Vincent Dunne moved quietly, efficiently about the headquarters, finding time even with this magnificent group of organizers on hand to take care of details himself. He wrote a letter to Kelly Postal, a copy of which I managed to obtain. "Dear Kelly," Vincent wrote,

"I am sending you this letter before going away, to greet you and to tell you that I appreciate the sacrifice you are making.

"It is my conviction that in the future yours and my position, which are one and the same, will be vindicated.

"I am going to be denied the right to participate in the movement, the same as you, for a little time; but in the future you and I together will fight on and complete the task of liberating the working class.

"In this spirit I am greeting you and hope that you will soon be free.

"The hands of the 18 close comrades guide mine as I send you fraternal greetings of solidarity."

Vincent Dunne took Jim and a small group for the last supper before going to prison. We sat in a private room. Dark wooden beams overhead, copies of rich Renaissance paintings on pastel walls gave that supper an unforgettable tone. Vincent ordered wine—it seemed appropriate on this occasion, and poured a glass for Grace Carlson at his side.

POWER OF SOCIALIST IDEAS

They began talking about Trotskyism. "Our movement is historic," said Dunne. "Take our press, for instance. The first volume of *The Militant* is a collector's item worth I don't know how much. Compare it with other radical publications. Who cares about the first volumes of *The Call*, for example. Or take the *Workers Age*, which at one time was so imposing. Who cares about that? Our movement was real because it followed the long-range historical perspective."

Reaction could not assassinate the ideas of Trotsky by sinking a pickaxe into his brain. Reaction will be as little able to confine within a straitjacket the coming socialist revolution by locking its leading advocates behind bars. The enormous masses of people throughout the world, surging irresistibly forward to the program of socialism, cannot be halted by anything within the arsenal of these parasites from an outmoded past. Ideas cannot be imprisoned or slaughtered.

As I listened to these native American socialists, I could not help but conclude: When the history of our country is written by future historians, they will not look for material in the library at Hyde Park where Roosevelt employs a staff to file away minutiae about himself. They will dig painfully into scattered memoirs, accidental bits written in the heat of struggle, items preserved in the files of Trotskyist publications, to find out what the real figures of American history were like.

Then Jim told his comrades about Rose at the farewell banquet in New York. "She gave a magnificent speech. . . . 'No moping,' she said. She spoke for all the women. How proud I was of Rose. That was a beautiful speech Rose made. . . . The most beautiful thing I've heard in a long time. She stood up like a Spartan woman. I was very proud of her."

On the last day, December 31, the defendants gathered at the headquarters. A constant stream of workers came in for a final handshake—men taking off a few minutes from their jobs where they

could, under one excuse or another, just to give the defendants moral encouragement. For the Minneapolis comrades lead the labor movement there even though they no longer stand at its head.

THE DAY OF IMPRISONMENT

Al Goldman worked on a press release; Felix Morrow greeted people, seized spare moments to write letters.

Jim took a few small items out of his valise and wrapped them in a handkerchief to take to the county jail—tooth brush, etc.

"Looks like you're hitting the road, Jim," someone remarked.

"Yes, made up my mind to get out of here. . . . I've been many a time on the road with a bundle no bigger than that."

One of the photographers sent down by the press found his memory stirred about the great struggle in Butte, Montana, where Frank Little was murdered. He related some of the incidents of those days; how his own father was something of a socialist for a while. "Everyone was something of a socialist then."

Goldman explained how the power of the socialist movement can suddenly expand: "When the revolution comes, there will be hundreds of thousands and millions of people appearing who had some connection with socialism."

Tension mounted as the hour drew near. Tentative arrangements had been made to leave between two and three in the afternoon. The time was finally set at precisely 2:30.

When they came out of the headquarters in formation like soldiers of the proletariat, a crowd quickly formed. The 15 halted—a last minute check to see that all was in order, for they intended to go two by two in order of their length of service in the ranks of the working class vanguard. When Trotskyists do something, they do it right. Then forward down Marquette Avenue from Ninth Street to Third.

Well-wishers met them as they marched. "Goodbye," one could hear again and again. "Good Luck." The sentiment of the advanced workers of Minneapolis was expressed most aptly, I believe by the truck driver who told Skoglund shortly before the march began: "You've still got lots of friends, Carl. We won't forget you."

Jim Cannon and Vincent Dunne led the way, the two men whose lives mirror the main stream of socialism in the United States for almost four decades. Bulbs flashed as press photographers crouched at vantage points—the capitalist press too is interested in the way

the victims of the class struggle act at such painful and dramatic moments. But the faces of these two veteran leaders expressed nothing in that match which could comfort the class enemy. They were living embodiments of the motto which Trotsky used to quote: "Not to laugh, not to weep, but to understand."

THE MARCH TO JAIL

Behind Cannon and Dunne marched Carl Skoglund and Oscar Coover, those fine old warriors of socialism whose lives have earned them immortality in the hearts of the American working class. Then Albert Goldman, who has spent a lifetime speaking out against reaction and injustice in the courts, a Trotskyist lawyer willing to stake far more than career and comfort in defense of socialism. Beside him strode Farrell Dobbs, outstanding union organizer who rose out of the great 1934 Minneapolis strikes like a flame-seeking its way toward the final destruction of this whole dying archaic capitalist system of hunger, misery and bloodshed.

Next Felix Morrow, editor of *Fourth International*, whose writings burn the bourgeoisie like a lash. And Grace Carlson, former candidate for Minnesota senator—all the Trotskyist movement can take pride in. Grace as she marched resolutely toward prison, the only woman demanded as a victim by the Roosevelt regime, she faces 16 months alone.

Carlos Hudson and Max Geldman came in the next rank. Hudson distinguished himself too well as a champion of labor when he edited the *Northwest Organizer*—Tobin and Roosevelt decided that he must pay the penalty. Geldman, who has already served one imprisonment for strike activity, was taken as a matter of course.

Behind them marched Harry DeBoer and Emil Hansen, union organizers who fought labor's fight with both hands from the day they became conscious of the necessity to organize against the bosses.

Then Clarence Hamel and Ed Palmquist, two more organizers of Teamsters Local 544 who could not conceive of knuckling under to a moneyed employer or a wealthy international union head with powerful political connections.

Last, Jake Cooper, the youth who went down to Mexico to do everything he could to help guard Trotsky and Natalia from Stalin's assassins. Trotsky loved Jake for his devotion and his willingness. He would have embraced him again seeing how he marched.

They crossed the street to walk in the sun. As they strode past a

bank they made a remarkable picture. That imposing structure representing all the accumulated wealth and power of the capitalist society they have challenged, looked down coldly and forbiddingly. But they did not walk at all like trapped slaves. The sun highlighted their hats, their shoulders, touched their swinging hands. In dark overcoats they appeared in uniform. Against the chill wall of stone they looked like a contingent of a powerful conquering army. In truth that is precisely what they were, coming down the streets of Minneapolis, the advance contingent of the army that will eventually destroy all the evil power represented by the bank in the background.

PRISONERS OF CAPITALISM

At the Federal Court they were met by deputies of the U. S. Marshal. Again a crowd gathered while the formalities were completed. Then began the short march to the County Jail. This grim building loomed ever higher and more repellent as the defendants neared. In the canyon-like street, split by sun and shade, the great blocks of granite, grimy from years of smoke and dirt, rose like an upthrust of primeval rock. All the ignorance, superstition and cruelty of tens upon tens of thousands of years seemed to have been embodied by the architect in his design. Here in stone was the terrible tag of the human mind, particularly when it is ossified in the ruling class; the tag which resists blindly and ferociously the next step in progress, demanding on its altar the blood and lives of millions of the oppressed.

The 15 marched into the gloomy maw of that monument of capitalism, disappearing two by two inside. Down the long corridors of the basement they marched. Already the atmosphere seemed to wash over them; that atmosphere of sterile, hopeless stultification and decay which is so characteristic of these institutions and which hard tile and glazed marble only intensify. Bulbs of the press photographers still flashed in the faces of these working class leaders as the camera men climbed on stools, crouched low to find "interesting" angles.

At the elevator they halted for the last time. An elevator in a dungeon seems an anachronism, as if all the technique of modern industry, that could build a marvelous society of freedom, were subverted solely to the task of making more solid and impregnable the most savage institutions of the Pharaohs.

As the elevator lifted the first load out of sight, the full essence of our era came home to those still present. When a program speaks of the evil of capitalism in its death agony, it can appear as an abstraction, difficult to grasp. But when you see men who have spent their lives organizing for a better society thrown into prison, then the concrete meaning of the abstraction enters your bones.

The last man stepped into the elevator and so ended the historic march. In my mind I could hear the voice of Trotsky, that rich resonant voice welling up from memory. I thought to myself: If Trotsky could be here now to see how the leadership of our party conducted itself under persecution, he would have said: "Good, very good."

THE MILITANT

Weekly Newspaper Published in the
Interests of the Working People

Indispensable to all workers interested in the struggle
for International Socialism.

Indispensable to union militants opposed to the Smith
"Gag" Law and the Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

Subscribe Now

to

THE MILITANT

6 months subscription \$1. 1 year subscription \$2.

Send subscription to:

THE MILITANT

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

**DOCUMENTS OF THE
MINNEAPOLIS LABOR TRIAL**

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

By JAMES P. CANNON

The official court record of Cannon's testimony.
112 pages 40 cents

IN DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The official record of Attorney and Defendant
Goldman's final speech for the defense.
95 pages 10 cents

DEFENSE POLICY

in the

MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

- 1--A Criticism by Grandiso Munis
- 2--An Answer by James P. Cannon

64 pages 20 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 10, N.Y.



LEADERS OF THE MINNEAPOLIS TRUCKDRIVERS UNION, LOCAL 344—CIO
AND OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY ON THEIR WAY TO PRISON

WHO ARE THE 18 PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE?

HOW THE SMITH "GAG" ACT
HAS ENDANGERED WORKERS
RIGHTS AND FREE SPEECH

Foreword by JAMES T. FARRELL

Published by S. F. SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
305 Grant Avenue — 4th Floor

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

THE 18 PRISONERS

NAME	PRISON	SENTENCE
JAMES P. CANNON <i>National Secretary, SWP</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
GRACE CARLSON <i>Minnesota Organizer, SWP</i>	Alderson, W. Va.	16 months
JAKE COOPER <i>Minneapolis Truckdriver</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
OSCAR COOVER <i>Minneapolis Organizer, SWP</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
HARRY DeBOER <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	12 months
FARRELL DOBBS <i>National Labor Sec'y, SWP</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
V. R. DUNNE <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
MAX GELDMAN <i>Former Recording Sec., Federal Workers Section, 544—CIO</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
ALBERT GOLDMAN <i>SWP attorney</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
CLARENCE HAMEL <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	12 months
EMIL HANSEN <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
CARLOS HUDSON <i>Editor of 544—CIO Weekly, The Industrial Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
KARL KUEHN <i>Former Officer, Federal Workers Section, Local 544</i>	Danbury, Conn.	12 months
FELIX MORROW <i>Editor of The Militant</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months
EDWARD PALMQUIST <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	12 months
ALFRED RUSSEL <i>Former Officer, Omaha Teamsters Local 544</i>	Danbury, Conn.	12 months
OSCAR SHOENFELD <i>Former Youth Section Organizer, Local 544—Federal Workers Section</i>	Danbury, Conn.	12 months
CARL SKOGLUND <i>Local 544—CIO Organizer</i>	Sandstone, Minn.	16 months

OUR FIGHT TO FREE THE 18

By JAMES T. FARRELL

Noted Novelist, Author of "Studs Lonigan," etc.

The Minneapolis Labor Case is the major case of the present war period involving the rights of labor and freedom of speech. The 18 defendants, now serving their periods of imprisonment in federal jails, have been made convicts by the United States Government merely because of their opinions. The Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted is in flagrant contradiction with the Bill of Rights which states unconditionally that "Congress shall pass no laws abridging freedom of speech." Despite this flat contradiction between the provisions of the Smith Act and those in the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court of the United States has, on three occasions now, refused even to hear the appeal of the defendants.

The menace involved in these actions by the government and the federal courts should be clearly seen by all who have concern with the rights of labor and of freedom of speech. The history of fascism reaches us that the first attacks made by reaction are against the labor movement, and usually against its extreme left wing. The 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Case belong to the Socialist Workers Party and to Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. As their indictments specifically state, they have been put behind bars because they propagate the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, because they believe in the principles of the Communist Manifesto.

Now the force of law and the police power of the state, instead of reason, argument and debate, have become weapons used to combat the ideas of these defenders of Marxian socialism. Whether or not one agrees with the program and perspectives of this working-class political movement, it cannot be denied that Marxian socialists have consistently been in the forefront of the struggle for the advancement of labor and the defense of democratic rights. They have pledged the sincerity of their convictions, not merely by words, but by deeds. In many countries and for generations they have suffered jailing, torture and death at the hands of reaction in loyalty to their ideas.

The facts of this case plainly demonstrate that one can become a criminal here today in the United States if one defends these ideas. For, it must be repeated, these men have been imprisoned not for any overt action, but merely because of the views which they have presented openly and publicly.

This attack upon labor, this suppression of socialist ideas and imprisonment of socialists paves the way toward fascist reaction even if it is taken by a government which proclaims itself the enemy of fascism. This is the way that fascism undermined democracy and

seized power in other countries. Will we permit this to be repeated in the United States? Is it going to happen here?

These are questions which all of us must answer, not merely by words but by actions. Free speech and the rights of labor are not lost all in one fell swoop. These rights are eaten away. Precedents are established. Once they have been so established, they are then used for further acts of repression.

We now see this pattern, which led ultimately to fascism elsewhere, unfolding in this country. The government has promptly used the precedent established in the Minneapolis Case for another attack upon labor in its latest effort to deport Harry Bridges, CIO Longshoremen's union leader, even although he is a staunch supporter of the administration's policies. This should demonstrate—if further demonstration be needed—that it is not only the 18, not only opponents of the administration's policies whose rights and liberties are endangered by the Smith "Gag" Act. The entire labor movement, the cherished democratic rights of the American people are directly threatened.

Free speech is most important for those who have something new, important and vital to say. It means little to those who agree with prevailing opinion, supported by the powers that be. The fundamental significance of the rights of free speech and free press is that they permit those sponsoring other views to express them openly and in public. Where such guarantees of free expression exist, men are enabled to think honestly.

If the minds of men are not free, if they are made to feel that thoughts alone are dangerous and criminal, then the seeds of cowardice are implanted in the midst of society. Cultivate this seed by establishing precedents such as this, based upon the Mikado's doctrine of "dangerous thoughts," and you will have established one of the most important prerequisites for a police state, based on force and fear.

This pamphlet contains a summary of the salient facts in the Minneapolis Labor Case and brief biographies of the 18 prisoners. The story of their lives shows how they have fought for the interests of labor, for their ideas, and for a better world. They have not given up that cause, even at the price of jailing. Today behind prison bars they remain loyal to their principles. It is the duty of those of us who are outside the prison walls and can speak and act, who understand the importance of this case, who realize the dangers it can lead to, it is our duty to devote ourselves to the campaign for their freedom. It is our duty to fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

Unless we do this and do it vigorously, there may be many more than these 18 behind bars.

February 27, 1944.

JAMES T. FARRELL

Free speech, civil liberties, labor's rights—cherished possessions of the American people — have been placed in peril by the convictions in the Minneapolis Labor Case. What are the facts in this case?

BACKGROUND OF THE PROSECUTION

The prosecution arose directly out of the influence of the Socialist Workers Party in the Minneapolis trade union movement. Members and sympathizers of this working-class party played a leading role in the Truckdrivers Union Local 544. Under the inspiration and guidance of 544 leaders from 1934 on, Minneapolis became transformed from one of the leading open shop cities in the U. S. to a strongly organized union center. The leaders of 544 struggled to build strong and democratic unions not only among the truckdrivers in Minneapolis but throughout the Northwest area. In 1938 they were instrumental in obtaining the first closed-shop contract for more than 200,000 over-the-road drivers in an 11-state area.

From 1934 on, there was constant friction between Local 544's leadership and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This hostility came to a head the first week in June 1941, when a Committee of 544 leaders was summoned to appear before a meeting of the Teamsters International Executive Board in Washington, D. C. to answer charges of "radicalism" filed against them. There Tobin asked the 544 delegation to request his appointment of a dictator-receiver over the union, with absolute powers, including the power to expel anyone.

Local 544 rejected this proposal. Almost 4,000 members were present at a regular membership meeting held on June 9th, and by a practically unanimous vote they decided to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Daniel Tobin, close personal friend of President Roosevelt, member of the Democratic Party National Committee and head of the Democratic Labor Committee in the 1940 Presidential election, immediately wired Roosevelt for help. Stephen Early, Roosevelt's secretary, told the press: "When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning, he asked me to immediately have the Government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified." (*N. Y. Times, June 14, 1941*) Raids upon the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Twin-Cities, indictments and arrests of 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the newly formed

Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544—CIO followed.

The political motivation behind the prosecution was pointed out by the American Civil Liberties Union in its letter of protest to Attorney-General Biddle, August 20, 1941: "It seems reasonable to conclude that the government interjected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

THE CHARGES

On July 15, 1941, twenty-nine people were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul, Minn., on charges of "seditious conspiracy." The indictment had been drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice. Among those indicted were the national and local leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and officers of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544—CIO.

The indictment contained two counts, each one charging a conspiracy.

Count 1 was based upon a statute first enacted in 1861 which makes it a federal crime to commit overt acts against the government. This law was passed during the Civil War for use against the armed rebellion of the Confederacy.

In this count the prosecution charged that the Union Defense Guard of the Truckdrivers Local 544 had concealed arms and ammunition with which to overthrow the government by force and violence. The Union Defense Guard had really been formed in Sept. 1938 to defend the Union's picket lines, headquarters and members against threatened anti-labor violence from the fascist Silver-Shirt gangs. The trials proved that no arms nor ammunition were concealed.

This count was thrown out by the jury.

Count 2 was drawn up under the provisions of a new law, the Alien Registration Act, passed in peace-time 1940 and popularly known as the Smith "Gag" Act. Under this law, never tested for its constitutionality, the 18 Minneapolis defendants were convicted and sentenced.

THE SMITH "GAG" ACT

The sponsor of this law is the same poll-tax Congressman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who is the leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress and co-author of the Smith-Connally anti-labor law.

Page Six

Smith and his associates put through this law as a weapon in their reactionary campaign against the rights of labor.

This law is the first since the notorious Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798 to make thinking and the expression of opinion a federal crime.

Both the AFL and CIO opposed its passage. During the debates in Congress, Representative Geyer of California declared: "This bill is an attempt to put an end to real democracy. It is an attempt to break the labor movement." Representative Martin of Colorado said: "It is enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave. It is without precedent in the history of labor legislation. It is an invention of intolerance contrary to every principle of democracy."

The American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto the Smith "Gag" Act because it violated the Bill of Rights and "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor."

THE TRIAL

The trial of the 28 began on October 27, 1941, in the Federal District Court at St. Paul, Minnesota. Matthew M. Joyce was the presiding judge; the federal prosecutors were Victor A. Anderson and Asst. Attorney-General Henry A. Schweinhaut.

In his opening statement to the jury, Anderson explicitly declared that even if it could not be proven that the defendants had taken up arms against the government, they could nevertheless be found guilty. In other words, the defendants could be convicted not for anything they did, but solely for expressing their opinions. He thus made it plain that the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and freedom of thought were on trial.

The government took three weeks to present its case. The prosecution's evidence against the defendants consisted only of certain statements alleged to have been made before witnesses, the majority of whom were friends, agents or on the payroll of Daniel Tobin. Also introduced into evidence were over 150 exhibits, consisting of official documents and articles published by the Socialist Workers Party together with many of the best-known works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. All these publications had been openly distributed and publicly sold. Among them was the Communist Manifesto. The government charged that this 93-year-old socialist classic, burned by Hitler's regime and banned by Mussolini and the Mikado, is likewise illegal and subversive literature in the U. S.

The defense took only four days to present its refutation. Attorney Albert Goldman summarized the arguments for the defense

Page Seven

in his final speech* which lasted ten hours. He outlined the main ideas of Marxism and thereby disproved the prosecution's charges that the defendants were engaged in a conspiratorial plot to overthrow the government by force. Marxists, he pointed out, believe that socialism can be achieved only by winning a majority of the people. He stated that the attempt to depict the Union Defense Guard as an armed band organized to overthrow the government was nothing but a frame-up. In addition Goldman showed that the case was a continuation of the factional struggle in the Teamsters Union and that the government initiated the prosecution to help Tobin's faction and to suppress a workers' party opposed to the administration's policies.

Five of the 28 defendants were dismissed by the court for lack of evidence against them. After two and a half days' deliberation, the jury acquitted all of the defendants on the first count and cleared five of all charges on both counts.

Before the trial, Attorney-General Biddle, in his reply to a letter from the American Civil Liberties Union protesting the indictments as a violation of free speech, had declared that "arming workers . . . is clearly sufficient to remove the case from one involving expression of opinion" and would be "supported by the evidence." But by throwing out the first count, the jury established that the charge of overt acts was completely unsupported by any evidence and that the case involved only expression of opinion.

Eighteen of the defendants were found guilty on the second count alone. The jury recommended leniency.

The 18 were sentenced on December 8, 1941. Twelve were given 16-month and six were given 12-month prison terms.

THE APPEALS

The 18 defendants were released on bail pending their appeal to the higher courts. On Sept. 20, 1943, the Circuit Court upheld the convictions.

On October 14, 1943, an appeal was made to the U. S. Supreme Court. On Nov. 22, 1943, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case, despite the important legal and constitutional questions involved. The American Civil Liberties Union twice again appealed to the highest court to review the case and test its constitutionality. Three times the Supreme Court refused. Many newspapers expressed

*The main testimony of the defense has been printed in two pamphlets: "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, and "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon. These can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. C. 3, N. Y., at 10 cents each.

Page Eight

astonishment at this refusal, which the American Civil Liberties Union declared "unprecedented."

On New Year's Eve, December 31, 1943, the 18 began to serve their sentences in federal penitentiaries.

THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THIS CASE

This prosecution is the most sweeping government attack upon democratic and labor rights in many years. The Minneapolis Labor Case has been nationally recognized as the test case of civil liberties in this war. Its 18 defendants are the first to be imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act. This law, which makes the expression of opinion a federal crime clearly violates the rights of free speech and free press guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

In refusing to hear this case, the Supreme Court has set an extremely dangerous precedent. Now that the members of Local 544-CIO have been imprisoned for their trade-union activities, other unionists can be similarly prosecuted. Now that the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have been imprisoned for their opinions, the Smith "Gag" Act can be used in witch-hunts against other political groups. In fact, immediately after the 18 went to prison, the Department of Justice used the precedent established in these convictions to aid them in deportation proceedings against the CIO leader Harry Bridges.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a national campaign to obtain unconditional Presidential pardon for the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act. Scores of trade unions and progressive organizations have already passed resolutions asking President Roosevelt to uphold the Bill of Rights and pardon the 18.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is appealing to all progressive America, especially to the organized trade union movement to back its fight and support this campaign. The CRDC is convinced that the trade union movement must adopt an unequivocal stand on this issue as part and parcel of its effort to defeat the forces of reaction which, in violating and destroying the Bill of Rights, are likewise seeking to crush the American labor movement.

THE 18 MUST BE FREED!

THE VICIOUS SMITH "GAG" ACT MUST BE REPEALED!

Page Nine

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE 18 PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE



JAMES P. CANNON

Over 30 years ago James P. Cannon took the road of unceasing struggle on behalf of and in defense of the working-class. Through hardships and travail he has never wavered from that road. Cannon was brought up in the prairie town of Rosedale, Kansas, where he was born in 1890. His father, now 86 years old, was a foundry-man and a Debs socialist. His mother was a devout Catholic. Like many workers' families, the Cannons lived in grinding poverty.

When he was 12 his mother died. At this early age, he had to go to work, 60 hours a week at a packing-house plant. He worked 70 hours a week in a railroad yard when he was 14. He yearned for education, for the ability to express himself and his ideas, and became a voracious reader of books. He entered high-school at the age of 16, and after graduating, returned to work and began to study law at night. Finally he abandoned his law studies and became active in the labor movement.

In 1908 Cannon joined the Socialist Party in Kansas City. He became a migratory worker, traveling around, getting what jobs he could, organizing and educating in the interest of working-class solidarity. In 1911 he joined in the militant upsurge of the IWW. He met and worked with the great figures of that movement — Vincent St. John, Frank Little, Big Bill Haywood.

During this period he participated actively in many of the historic IWW struggles; as organizer in the first 1913 Akron Rubber Strike, in the Peoria Metal Workers and Duluth and Superior Ore Dock strikes. He was indicted for conspiracy in the 1913 Peoria strike. Later in 1919 he was indicted by the federal government for his activities in the Kansas coal miners' strike.

Cannon aided the work of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee by

organizing a series of mass demonstrations from coast to coast on behalf of these two labor martyrs. Hundreds of thousands of workers were mobilized for these demonstrations through local trade union conferences. Today this labor defender is himself a victim of anti-labor persecution.

A foundation member of the American Communist Party, Cannon was expelled in 1928 because he defended the ideas of Leon Trotsky. He and others then founded the American Trotskyist movement, now known as the Socialist Workers Party, of which Cannon is the National Secretary.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



DR. GRACE CARLSON

Dr. Grace Carlson is distinguished as the sole woman among the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case. A true defender of workers' rights, she burns with indignation at injustice, poverty and tyranny. She has inspired men and women workers alike by her courageous defense of the working-class.

Grace was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1906. Her father is an Irish-American railroad worker and her great-great grandfather was Samuel Holmes, who came from Ireland and fought in the American Revolution.

She was educated in St. Catherine's College and the University of Minnesota, where she earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees. A woman of brilliant intellect, she was elected to Pi Lamda Theta, National Honorary Society for Women in Education in 1931; to Sigma Xi, National Honorary Scientific Society in 1933. For two years she lectured in the Department of Psychology of the University

Page Twelve

of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the State Department of Education.

Grace joined the trade union movement and devoted herself to building a better social order. She was a charter member of Minnesota State Employees Union Local No. 10, for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly, a member of its Education Committee for three years and twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor conventions. She distinguished herself in labor defense work as a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League, and became an active worker in the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In 1940 Dr. Carlson resigned from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator. In this campaign she received over 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist parties. In 1942 she ran for mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and although already convicted and sentenced to prison, she received 3% of the total vote cast.

Alderson, West Va.—16 months



JAKE COOPER

The youngest of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, Cooper was born in 1916 in St. Paul, Minn. His parents were poor, hard-working immigrants from Czarist Russia.

After graduating from the Chaska, Minnesota, High School, during the depression of the 1930's Jake found work as a truck driver. In 1936 he joined the General Drivers Union Local 544. He soon proved himself on the picket lines and in workers' demonstrations.

Page Thirteen

As an organizer for the Youth Section of Local 544's Federal Workers Section, he helped to organize many young workers. He has been jailed twice for his participation in union activities.

In 1941 Cooper became a member of the Packinghouse Workers Union, Swift Local 167, South St. Paul, serving as a steward and as delegate to the District Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee Conference.

From his early youth, Cooper took his stand in the fight for workers' rights and socialism.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



OSCAR COOVER

Oscar Coover is quiet-spoken, warm-hearted and friendly. Born in Republic, Mo., in 1887 he went to grade and high schools at Springfield, Mo. A skilled electrician, he worked for the railroads from 1904 to 1924 on the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Missouri-Pacific, the Chicago and Great Western lines. Since then he has worked at his trade as a stage-hand and on building construction.

Unionism, the cause of labor, are his deepest interests. He has held continuous membership in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers since 1906 and since 1907 in the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

From 1916 to 1922, he was active in the organization of the railroad workers. He played an outstanding role in the famous Railroad Shopmen's strike of 1922 as Secretary of the Chicago, Great Northwestern and Pullman shop employees. He had the distinction of being named personally in Attorney-General Dougherty's notorious injunction against picketing.

Page Fourteen

Coover has served in so many capacities in the labor movement that he cannot remember them all. He was a delegate for two years to the Springfield, Mo., Trades & Labor Assembly, for five years to the Minneapolis Trades & Labor Assembly.

Oscar is the father of three grown children.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



HARRY DEBOER

Harry DeBoer, who was born in Crookston, Minn., in 1907, has worked his entire adult life as a truck driver. In his youth he had little opportunity for a formal education and was compelled to finish his schooling with the eighth grade.

Standing in the forefront on the picket-lines and in every great labor struggle in Minneapolis, Harry has emerged from these struggles tempered in experience and action. During the Minneapolis drivers strike in July 1934, he was almost killed by a police bullet. Recovering after several months in a hospital, he returned from a hospital bed to the fight for workers' rights.

DeBoer served as an organizer for Local 544 from 1934 to 1941, one of those who were the very backbone of that model union. He was president of the Bakery Drivers local and was elected to Chairman of the Midwest Bakery Drivers Council. In the capacity of Minnesota State delegate to the 12-state Over-the-Road Drivers Council, he helped to win the first uniform contract for the over-the-road drivers, covering 250,000 previously unorganized workers. He was elected delegate to several state AFL conventions and to the AFL Teamsters International Convention.

DeBoer has honesty and conviction. His aim is to win a new world for his fellow-workers.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months

Page Fifteen



FARRELL DOBBS

Farrell Dobbs was born in Queen City, Missouri, in 1907 and lived in Minneapolis from the age of six. A year after graduating from high-school he secured employment as a wire man for Western Electric and learned in the course of his work enough about operations to qualify as a planning engineer. The crash and the depression of the 1930's ended this employment. He became a coal yard worker.

Farrell saw insecurity, poverty, misery all around him. When Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund and others began to organize the Minneapolis coal yard drivers in 1933, he joined them. He had decided what he was going to do—help build the union and fight for the working class.

By the time the May and July 1934 drivers strikes occurred, Farrell was in the center of action. He had served on the organization committee prior to the strikes. He was now elected a member of the negotiations committee of the strikes, where he displayed unusual talents—cool judgment, attentiveness to details, uncompromising firmness, an analytical mind.

Farrell joined the Socialist Workers Party in March 1934. From 1934 to 1939 the Local 544 membership elected him repeatedly to the office of secretary-treasurer, except for a 10 months' period when he was elected recording secretary.

In 1937 he was elected secretary of the newly formed council of drivers locals in the northwest area, the North Central District Drivers Council. Out of this council, in which Farrell played an outstanding role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee, of which Farrell was also secretary. He was chosen as spokesman for the committee in negotiations which won a 12-state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers.

Page Sixteen

In 1939 Farrell Dobbs resigned his post as International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and became National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He returned to Minneapolis in 1941 to help Local 544 in its fight to maintain its traditions of democratic unionism.

Farrell has three children of school age.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



VINCENT R. DUNNE

Vincent Dunne is one of the best known labor leaders to come out of the Northwest. He was born in Kansas City, Kansas, in 1889. Son of a railroad construction worker, he spent the early years of his life on his grandfather's farm, where his family lived while his father was employed in the construction camps.

Next to the eldest son in a family of seven, he had to leave home at an early age to seek work in the harvest fields, mines and lumber camps of the west. This was a period when a great wave of labor struggle swept the western states, giving rise to the Western Federation of Miners and the IWW. Vincent was one of the most active spirits in these struggles.

He participated in the strikes and historic free-speech fights of the IWW in 1906-1908, when IWW members chained themselves to lamp-posts and defended free speech by publicly reciting the Declaration of Independence until they were beaten into unconsciousness.

After serving in 1908 as a strike committee member in a strike of southern saw-mill workers at Bogalooosa, La., Vincent returned north to live with his parents in Minneapolis and to work as an express wagon driver. Discharged many times for trying to organize

Page Seventeen

the workers, he was finally black-listed and driven from the industry during the anti-labor drive of World War I.

He then obtained work with a coal company, first as a yard laborer and then as a truck driver, weighman and superintendent. In 1931 when his efforts to organize the coal drivers and laborers began to meet with success, he was fired.

Then followed years of unemployment, when he tried to maintain his wife and two children on government relief. He continued to work untiringly to organize the truck drivers. Finally, in 1934, along with his brothers, Grant and Miles, Vincent became a leader of the historic drivers strikes which made Minneapolis a union town and inspired the organization of hundreds of thousands throughout the northwest.

Workers respect Vincent Dunne for his wisdom and experience, his courage under fire, his complete trustworthiness and selflessness.

In addition to his union activities, Dunne is prominently identified as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



MAX GELDMAN

Max Geldman was born in 1905 in a ghetto of Warsaw, Poland. His parents came to this country hoping to better their conditions, but found only poverty and back-breaking toil.

Max went to Public School 174 in Brooklyn, to Boy's High and then to City College of New York. He tried his hand at selling and teaching and was an active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

During the Minneapolis union struggles of the last decade, Max

Page Eighteen

was an active participant. He became an organizer of Federal Workers Section, Local 544, a fighting leader of the unemployed and WPA workers. Because of his activities in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike, he was arrested and sentenced to Sandstone Penitentiary for eight months. Now he has gone a second time to the same prison for his loyalty to labor.

Max has two children, a daughter, 6 years old, and a baby boy, born on Christmas Day, just before Max went to prison.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



ALBERT GOLDMAN

Albert Goldman's conduct of the defense in the Minneapolis trials made American labor defense history. Arrayed against the defendants were the ablest prosecutors of the Department of Justice, and a judge and jury prejudiced against organized labor. Goldman was himself on trial, facing a possible sentence of up to 16 years. During the trials, even the jury could sense his integrity and unshakable conviction in the socialist ideas he so ably defended.

Goldman grew up amid the poverty of the Chicago working-class districts. He graduated from the Chicago public schools and later from the University of Cincinnati. In 1919, at the age of 22, he joined the IWW, getting his first-hand lessons in the post-war attacks upon trade-unionists and radicals. At this time he was working long hours as a tailor in Chicago's sweat-shop clothing factories.

Goldman determined to become a labor attorney and devote himself to defending working-class victims of injustice. He worked his way through the night law school at Northwestern University. Soon he became an outstanding labor defense attorney.

As counsel for the International Labor Defense in the late

Page Nineteen

twenties and early thirties, he defended hundreds of workers arrested in strikes and demonstrations. In 1932 he was attacked by a vigilante mob in Danville, Ill., for defending several unemployed workers.

In 1934 Goldman placed his legal talents at the service of Norman Mini in the famous Sacramento "Criminal Syndicalism" trial which grew out of the struggle of the California agricultural workers. In 1937 he achieved international renown as Leon Trotsky's defense attorney before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry's hearings into the Moscow frameup trials in Mexico City.

Now this man who has defended the rights of hundreds of persecuted workers has himself become a victim of anti-labor political persecution.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



CLARENCE HAMEL

Clarence Hamel was born in 1909 in Hamel, Minnesota, a town named after his grandfather who settled there following the Civil War. His schooling consisted of eight years at Notre Dame De Lourdes grade school, and two years at Dunwoody Trade School, Minneapolis.

During the bleak days of the depression, in 1933, Clarence joined the union of coal haulers, participating in the successful strike which paved the way for the later organization of Local 544. In all the subsequent Minneapolis strikes, he was a tenacious fighter.

A big man, he and his pal, Emil Hansen, were fondly termed the "600 Twins," because of their size.

After many years' service as a steward for the coal and grocery drivers, Clarence in 1939 was selected as a business agent for Local 544. When the going gets tough, Clarence shows his real stamina and unalterable devotion to working-class interests.

Sandstone, Minn.—12 months



EMIL HANSEN

Over six feet tall and more than 225 pounds in weight, Emil Hansen, sometimes called "The Big Dane," has stood out among his fellow workers, not merely in size but in courage and working-class loyalty.

Hansen was born in Denmark, in 1906. He joined the Minneapolis Driver's Union in 1928. That was the year when the Minneapolis unions were weak and the town was open-shop.

Emil Hansen helped to bring unionism to Minneapolis. When the Minneapolis Drivers began their struggle, Emil was an active participant. He swung the organization of cab-drivers, which he helped organize behind the 1934 strikes. He proved to be one of the best fighters in the cause of unionism.

He won the respect and affection of his fellow-workers, who selected him year after year as an organizer and trustee of local 544.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



CARLOS HUDSON

Carlos Hudson is a gifted writer and journalist. An honest and courageous man, he devoted his life to educating and defending the workers through the medium of the labor press.

Hudson was born in Minneapolis in 1908. He worked his way

as a freight laborer through the University of Minnesota, where he majored in economics and graduated with a BBA degree in 1929. That was the year of the economic crash, and Carlos witnessed the living reality of hungry workers.

Carlos took his stand with the fighting workers, contributing his talents to advance their cause. He edited and wrote for workers' papers in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Austin, Minn., Fargo, N. Dakota, and Omaha, Nebraska.

As editor of the *Northwest Organizer*, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council and the *Industrial Organizer*, published by Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, Carlos made a major contribution to the labor movement of the northwest. These papers were powerful weapons in the building of the entire union movement in this area.

Carlos has faced continued persecution for his loyalty to the working class. He was fired from his WPA job for his activities in organizing WPA teachers into a union. Because of his conviction in the Minneapolis Labor Case he was blacklisted from 20 plants and fired from two, after he had learned the machinist trade.

Carlos has two children: a son, five years old, and a two-year old daughter.

Sanstone, Minn.—16 months



KARL KUEHN

Karl Kuehn has been a Minnesotan all his life, having been born in St. Paul in 1894. By dint of persistent study and self-education, he became a mechanical and industrial engineer, and he has worked as a mechanical designer, civil engineer, industrial refrigeration designer and food distribution engineer.

Page Twenty-two

Karl was not the type of man who could close his eyes to the misery and poverty around him. He joined forces with the union workers and the unemployed and engaged in their struggles with his characteristic tenacity.

In 1934 he was an official representative of the organized unemployed in the General Drivers Strike. He was elected delegate to numerous state and national unemployed conventions and conferences. He did great service in helping to tie together the struggles of the employed and unemployed. For a number of years he was recording secretary of the Federal Workers Section, Local 544, and he was a delegate to several Farmer-Labor Party conventions.

In 1940 he was indicted and tried under unjust charges growing out of his activities in the Minneapolis WPA strike. These charges were finally dismissed.

Karl is father of six children and grandfather of two.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



FELIX MORROW

Felix Morrow was born in New York City in 1906, and brought up in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, a working-class district. As a boy he became a member of the Junior Circle of the Young People's Socialist League.

Morrow went to New York University and did graduate work there in philosophy and at Columbia University. He joined the club affiliated with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded by Jack London and was once arrested for helping to collect funds in the neighborhood of the university to aid the left-wing miners' opposition in the United Mine Workers.

Page Twenty-three

Beginning with 1925 Felix became a journalist. He worked on the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and *Daily Eagle* and later worked for the *New York World* and *American*. He also contributed frequently to the liberal periodicals.

The 1929 crisis, he says, brought to him the realization that "Marxism had to be more than an intellectual conviction." During the depression years he became active in the Communist Party, and wrote for its press. He was arrested during the needle trades strikes in December 1932 in South River, N. J. Among his best writings of that period were eyewitness accounts of the Ford Massacre in March 1932 and his account of the veterans' bonus march.

In 1933 he joined the Trotskyist movement and became National Secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. He later became associate editor of the *Socialist Appeal*. From 1940 to 1942 he was editor of *The Militant*, and since 1941, the editor of the *Fourth International*. He has written two books on Spain: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," and "The Civil War in Spain."



EDWARD PALMQUIST

Edward Palmquist is the son of a charter member of Minneapolis Carpenters Local 6, and has worthily upheld his family's labor tradition. He was born in Minneapolis in 1897 and obtained his schooling in the Hennepin County grammar school and Hopkins High School.

For 15 years Palmquist worked as a machinist in a steel plant, until the depression years, when he became unemployed. He plunged into the unemployed struggle for relief and jobs, soon after the rise of Local 544. As Chairman of Local 544's Federal Workers Section, organized in 1936, he played an outstanding role in helping to win thousands of jobs for the unemployed and one of the highest WPA

Page Twenty-four

and relief standards in the country. His fighting leadership won him the confidence and respect of his fellow workers, who elected him as representative of the organized unemployed to the State Emergency Relief Administration and WPA.

In the July 1934 truckdrivers strike, Edward was one of the scores of union fighters herded into a military "stockade." He was sentenced in 1940 to eight months in Sandstone, for his leadership during the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike. Palmquist was an active member of the Hod Carriers Union, served as a delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and was a delegate to a number of State Federation of Labor conventions.

He has two children; a daughter eight years old, and a 1 year old son.

Sandstone, Minn.—12 months



ALFRED RUSSEL

Alfred Russel was born of poor parents in Brooklyn in 1911. His mother died when he was three, and his father when he was seventeen. He went to City College for a year, and to Brooklyn College for two.

Russel's first job in 1929 was as an office boy. For several years thereafter, he worked at any job he could get and often suffered the hardship of unemployment. For one year he worked in a ribbon weaving mill, on the night shift, 60 hours a week for \$16.15.

In 1935 Russel went to Minneapolis, during the period of the great labor upsurge. He was arrested for his activities in the 1935 Strutwear Knitting Mills strike, and served six months in jail. He later assisted in the organization of textile workers and cab drivers,

Page Twenty-five

and published a strike paper for the Yellow Cab strikers. He aided in the organization of Omaha General Drivers Union Local 554, joined the union and was three times elected recording secretary. For opposing the policies of Daniel Tobin, he was arbitrarily removed from office and the local was put under receivership in 1940. Since then he has been working as a truck driver, steel mill hand and machinist.

Russel's wife is expecting their first child.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



OSCAR SCHOENFELD

Schoenfeld was born in 1916 in New York City. He has known for most of his life only a world of unemployment and deprivation. When he left student life at New York University, he plunged into the life of a working-class organizer, becoming active in picket lines and labor demonstrations.

As an organizer of the Unemployed Youth Section of Local 544, Oscar fought for relief and jobs for the unemployed. He was a leader of the Minneapolis WPA strike in 1939, and was convicted for his strike activity in February 1940, when he was 23 years old. The judge placed him on probation for 18 months, and the probation was extended after his indictment in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Oscar's loyal and courageous wife, Margaret Kuehn, is the daughter of one of the 18 prisoners, Karl Kuehn. She has taken her place beside her husband and father in labor struggles. She was convicted and placed under one year probation for her activities in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike.

The Schoenfelds have two children, both under five years of age.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



CARL SKOGLUND

Carl Skoglund has been called a grand old working-class leader. To his fellow-workers, who honored his loyalty and fighting spirit by electing him president of Local 544, he is a hearty and lovable friend.

Carl was born in Sweden almost 60 years ago. He became a saw-mill and paper-mill worker, and from his earliest youth he participated in the organization and struggles of the workers. In 1911 he came to this country, where he worked in the building trades, and as lumberman, fireman, janitor, railroad worker, coal driver, mechanic. Everywhere he carried the same rallying cry to labor to organize.

In 1923, he was chairman of the Burlington, Great Western and North Western in the railroad shopmen's strike. He earned the enmity of the employers and when the strike was defeated he was blacklisted from the railroads for life.

During the early organization of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544, and in the strikes of 1934, Carl helped to break the open shop in the northwest.

He has held many union posts; was delegate from the Railroad Carmen and AFL Teamsters to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union; twice CLU delegate to conventions of the State Federation of Labor; delegate to the Teamsters' International Convention in 1940; and president of Local 544.

When the prosecutions against the union and socialist leaders began in 1941, Carl was arrested and held for deportation to Sweden. He was told that the deportation threat might be "reconsidered" if he would take the stand for the government in the Minneapolis Labor Case. For his refusal to turn against his brother workers, he is now in prison.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months

Recognizing the vital importance of the Minneapolis case to the entire labor movement and the cause of civil liberties, the following unions have previously contributed to our work

St. Louis Joint Advisory Council—CIO, St. Louis, Mo.
Bridgeport Industrial Union Council, Bridgeport, Conn.
San Francisco Industrial Union Council, San Francisco, Cal.
United Transport Service Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.
CIO Council No. 2—Bucks County, Quakertown, Pa.
Rochester Railroad Council, Rochester, N. Y.
Mechanics Educational Society of America, Detroit, Mich.

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #3, Detroit, Mich.	Local #490, Highland Park, Mich.
Local #15, Detroit, Mich.	Local #501, Buffalo, N. Y.
Local #45, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #511, Newark, N. J.
Local #51, Detroit, Mich.	Local #560, El Cerrito, Cal.
Local #82, Racine, Wisc.	Local #578, Oshkosh, Wisc.
Local #88, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #594, Pontiac, Mich.
Local #102, Eau Claire, Wisc.	Local #647, Reading, Ohio
Local #203, Detroit, Mich.	Local #662, Anderson, Ind.
Local #212, Detroit, Mich.	Local #663, Anderson, Ind.
Local #260, Newark, N. J.	Local #666, Jackson, Mich.
Local #262, Detroit, Mich.	Local #672, Trenton, N. J.
Local #263, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #764, Elkhart, Ind.
Local #398, Torrington, Conn.	Local #805, Chicago, Ill.
Local #407, Milwaukee, Wisc.	Local #836, Saginaw, Mich.
Local #410, Detroit, Mich.	Local #837, Elkhart, Ind.
Local #425, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #854, Syracuse, N. Y.
Local #486, Cleveland, Ohio	UAW District Council #11, Buffalo, N. Y.

UNITED STEEL WORKERS OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #1060, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #1833, Newark, N. J.
Local #1330, Youngstown, Ohio	Local #1845, Huntington Park, Cal.
Local #1339, Jersey City, N. J.	Local #2106, Roseland, N. J.
Local #1486, New Haven, Conn.	Local #2017, Buffalo, N. Y.
Local #1743, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #2111, Trenton, N. J.
Local #1753, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #2141, New Haven, Conn.

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #15, Akron, Ohio	Local #182, Rahway, N. J.
Local #69, Trenton, N. J.	Local #187, Newark, N. J.
Local #107, Trenton, N. J.	Local #205, Trenton, N. J.

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE & SHIPBUILDING WORKERS—CIO

Local #9, Los Angeles, Cal.	Local #15, Hoboken, N. J.
Local #13, Staten Island, N. Y.	Local #44, Bayonne, N. J.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #1, New York, N. Y.	Local #169, New York, N. Y.
Local #3, Denver, Colo.	Local #195, Newark, N. J.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #26, Freshhold, N. J.	Local #277, Newark, N. J.
Local #87, Paterson, N. J.	Local #356, Newark, N. J.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA—CIO

Local #203, Bridgeport, Conn.	Local #402, Newark, N. J.
	Local #426, Newark, N. J.

INT. LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION—CIO

Local #10, San Francisco, Cal.	Local #13, San Pedro, Cal.
	Local #29, San Diego, Cal.

Packhouse Workers Organizing Committee, South St. Paul, Minn.
Packhouse Workers Organizing Committee, Agar Local, Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, Local #462, Irvington, N. J.
Oil Workers Union, Local #337, Linden, N. J.
Oil Workers Union Local #397, Cartaret, N. J.
International Woodworkers of America, Local #2-9, Tacoma, Wash.
International Woodworkers of America, Local #28, Portola, Cal.
Plaything and Novelty Workers of America, Local #433, Bridgeport, Conn.
Doll and Toyworkers Industrial Union, Local #228, Trenton, N. J.
Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers Union, Local #190, Minneapolis, Minn.
State, County and Municipal Workers of America, Local #277, Newark, N. J.
United Retail and Wholesale Employees, Local #108, Newark, N. J.
Aluminum Workers of America, Local #4, Chicago, Ill.
Marine, Fireman, Oilers, Wattertenders and Wipers, San Pedro, Cal.
United Shoe Workers Joint Council #13, New York, N. Y.
Dyers and Finishers Local #1932, Passaic, N. J.
Fur Workers Union, Local #30, Boston, Mass.

INT. LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION—AFL

Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers Union of Greater New York—
Locals #10, #22, #60, #89.
Baltimore Joint Board of the ILGWU, Baltimore, Md.
Local #13, Boonton, N. J. Local #66, New York, N. Y.
Local #25, New York, N. Y. Local #155, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Local #160, Bayonne, N. J.

Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers, AFL, Local #60, New York, N. Y.
Millinery Workers Union, AFL, Local #24, New York, N. Y.
Amalgamated Lithographers of America, AFL, Local #1, New York, N. Y.
United Mine Workers of America, Local #12160, West Haven, Conn.
Gas By-Products, Coke Workers Local #12065, Edgewater, N. J.
Federation of G. C. S. & S. Workers, Newton Tile Local #75, Newark, N. J.
United Construction Workers, Local #73, Gary, Ind.
Newark Typographical Union, Local #103, Newark, N. J.

BREWERS UNION

Local #2, Newark, N. J.	Local #18, Chicago, Ill.
Local #4, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #148, Newark, N. J.
	Local #205, Minneapolis, Minn.

LABOR AND LIBERALS CONDEMN CONVICTION

NEW JERSEY STATE CIO COUNCIL

"My disagreement with their ideas forms the very basis of my strong conviction that their right to their beliefs and their freedom to express those beliefs ought to be strongly safeguarded. This principle, I believe, is the very rock upon which our democracy stands. This is the reason why the Executive Board of the organization which I head recorded itself in favor of protecting the civil rights of the defendants involved. Therefore, on behalf of the New Jersey State CIO Council, I would like to add my strong protest against the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to hear a case where the elements of freedom of speech are involved."—Irving Abramson, President.

UNITED TRANSPORT EMPLOYEES — CIO

"The refusal of the United States Supreme Court to hear the case, the first appeal of any conviction under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, is an indication of the anti-civil liberties temper of these times. We pledge our solidarity with you in the work that lies ahead to secure the freedom of the 18 defendants."—Willard Townsend, President.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"This is a case which should never have been brought to court under a law which should never have been passed. Never before has the Supreme Court refused to review a case of this importance."—Roger Baldwin, Director.

THE NATION — Liberal Weekly

"The record of this prosecution is one to shame every decent American . . . A greater crime is the injury done the Bill of Rights by their prosecution and by the dangerous precedents established, from which the court has averted its face."—Jan. 15, 1944.

PM — N. Y. Daily

"To permit such convictions to stand is to establish a new and dangerous precedent. To refuse a hearing, after the lower courts have set aside the 'clear and present danger' rule, is to invite the disregard in war and peace of one of the principal constitutional doctrines safeguarding freedom of speech and press."—Dec. 31, 1943.

ROCHESTER (N.Y.) RAILROAD COUNCIL

"We recognize this as a general attack on labor and therefore a fight that all labor must rally to. The Rochester Railroad Council goes on record condemning these convictions of workers under this law."

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

"I consider it my personal duty as a responsible union leader and as an American to strongly protest the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S. refusing to consider the appeal of 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union."—John Green, President.

What YOU Can Do To Help Free the 18

1. Send us your contribution, no matter how small, to provide relief for the 18 prisoners, their wives and children.
2. Write a letter to President Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C., asking him to pardon the 18.
3. Have your union, club or fraternal organization pass a resolution urging the President to uphold the Bill of Rights by freeing the 18, and send it to the White House.
4. Discuss this case and the danger of the Smith "Gag" Act with your friends and fellow workers. Ask them to read this pamphlet. Enlist them in our fight for free speech.

Additional copies of this pamphlet, pardon petitions, two-color 11x16 posters, collection lists and other material on the Minneapolis Labor Case can be obtained by writing to our National Office.

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

THIS PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JAMES T. FARRELL JOHN DOS PASSOS GEORGE NOVACK
CHAIRMAN VICE-CHAIRMAN SECRETARY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Dewey Albionson	Clement Greenberg	Frank Nowva
Prof. Joseph Warren Beach	Caesar Guizzo	Easton M. Oak
William Ross Benet	Prof. Yandell Henderson	William Phillips
Warren K. Billings	Mary W. Hillier	A. Clayton Powell, Jr.
Allice Stone Blackwell	Frank Hoellering	Philip Rahv
Theodore Brumfield	Bl. Rev. D. T. Huntington	Prof. Louis Rath
John Chamberlain	Mark DeWolfe Howe	Morris Reiger
Sarah T. Colvin	Rev. Edgar N. Jackson	Rep. Paul A. Richie
Kenneth G. Crawford	Rose Karsner	James Rorty
Elloues Day	Judge Dorothy Kenyon	Clarence Rust
Margaret De Silver	Dr. Antoinette Konikow	Dr. Max Seeham
Dr. John Dewey	Rev. Owen D. Knox	Max Shachtman
Prof. Bennett E. Dorsey	Prof. Maynard Krueger	Prof. Mayer Schapiro
John Dos Passos	Alfred Baker Lewis	Mark Starr
W. E. B. DuBois	Dr. Benjamin Lippincott	Carolyn N. Starke
Zara DuPont	Margaret Marshall	Dr. Willard Upham
Charles D. Egle	Mary McCarthy	Adelaide Walker
James T. Farrell	Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn	Charles Rufford Walker
Duncan Ferguson	Bella K. Milmed	Charles C. Webber
Waldo Frank	Gerhard B. Munson	Margaret West
Henry Fruchter	Paul Murray	Edmund Wilson
Julius Geller	A. J. Muste	Frances Winwar
Joseph Gilbert	Louis Nelson	A. L. Wirtz
	Dorothy Norman	Prof. E. W. Zabriskie

ENDORSED BY THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
and THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

HELP OUR FIGHT TO FREE THE 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee needs \$10,000 for the following purposes:

1. To win a Presidential pardon for the 18.
2. To provide relief for the wives and children of the prisoners.
3. To fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO:

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

160 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CITY 10 • NEW YORK